

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 240 037

SO 015 414

AUTHOR Sinclair, Robert L., Ed.
TITLE For Every School a Community: Expanding Environments for Learning.
INSTITUTION Institute for Responsive Education, Boston, Mass.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-917754-20-4
PUB DATE Jun 83
NOTE 95p.
AVAILABLE FROM Publications Dept., Institute for Responsive Education, 605 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215 (\$6.00).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Guides - Classroom Use - Guides (For Teachers) (052)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Birth Rate; *Community Coordination; *Community Education; Community Resources; Community Responsibility; Community Role; Cooperative Planning; Demography; Divorce; Educational Change; Educational History; Educational Needs; Educational Planning; Elementary Secondary Education; Employed Women; Mass Media; Mobility; Parent Responsibility; Parent Role; Remarriage; *School Community Relationship; School Responsibility; School Role; United States History

ABSTRACT

Presented are ideas for promoting learning both within and beyond the walls of the schools. The first essay, "The Meaning of Community Education: An Historical Perspective" by Ralph W. Tyler, examines community education in primitive societies, in the colonial period, and in 19th and 20th century America. The challenge of the present is also discussed. The second essay, "Expanding Environments for Learning: The Making and Breaking of Learning Boundaries" by Robert L. Sinclair and Ward J. Ghory, discusses schools as a necessary part of a large network of learning environments that are important for effective education. The family, media, and the workplace must also share responsibility for education. The third essay is "Developing Parent Commitment to Public Education: New Directions for the 1980's," by Sharon Lynn Kagan and Carol Schraft. Historical perspectives and demographic trends, including fertility, mobility, divorce, remarriage, and working women, are examined. The fourth essay, "From School System to Educative System: Linking the School with Community Environments" by Mario D. Fantini, discusses parental, school, and community responsibilities for educational environments. The book concludes with the essay "Planning to Make Collaboration a Reality," by Don Davies. Bibliographies of related documents are included. (RM)

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FOR EVERY SCHOOL A COMMUNITY: EXPANDING
ENVIRONMENTS FOR LEARNING

by

Robert L. Sinclair, Editor, and
Don Davies, Mario D. Fantini, Ward J. Ghory,
Sharon Lynn Kagan, Carol M. Schraft,
and Ralph W. Tyler

Published by

THE INSTITUTE FOR RESPONSIVE EDUCATION

June 1983

ISBN: 0-917754-20-4

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PREFACE

Robert L. Sinclair

Public education has a central role in shaping the future of our nation. Hence, it is not surprising that our society turns instinctively to the schools to solve persistent national problems. Schools are expected to take on a broad range of political and social aims -- from winning the race in space to decreasing the number of children born out of wedlock because of teen-age pregnancy.

While the authors of this book agree that public schools are closely linked to the success of our society, we believe that schools alone cannot and should not be expected to cure every social ill. The public school is not the only institution responsible for educating the young people who are to improve society. For example, the family, workplace, mass media, and other institutions are environments where important learning often takes place.

In this book, we suggest that the time has come to better existing ties and form new associations between schools and other institutions of educational importance. Building partnerships between schools and the larger community is seen as a constructive way to renew education, to reaffirm our commitment to excellence in public schools, and to break down the unnecessary isolation of schools from the rest of the community. Public schools will continue to be at the center of the learning experience. Yet, in the next decade, non-school settings will become more active in the educational process. The resulting collaboration and shared responsibility for encouraging learning is a more effective means for delivering quality education in our society.

We do not prescribe a set of steps that everyone can take for combining schools with other agencies. Rather, the major purpose of this book is to present ideas about different configurations for promoting learning both within and beyond the walls of the schools. It is our hope that these ideas, when complemented by a sense of urgency, may serve as the basis for sound decisions to expand the educational environment so that young people can benefit more from the combined resources of public

schools and other institutions. In simple terms, this book encourages educators in school and non-school settings to recognize that for every school there is a community that can contribute to the learning of children and youth.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Institute for Responsive Education is pleased to present this collection of papers, some of which were presented at the annual meeting of the 1981 American Educational Research Association in Los Angeles. We appreciate Dr. Sinclair's efforts in making this publication possible, and in serving as general editor of the material. We also appreciate the willingness of the individual authors to contribute to this publication. Editing and production work at the Institute for Responsive Education was the responsibility of Gian S. Lombardo, aided by Jean Masterson. W. Dana Rudolph, IRE Office Manager, typed the manuscript.

SECTION ONE

THE MEANING OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION:

AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Community education is not a new notion. The interrelations of the educative process and the community have been recorded throughout history. These interrelations will be briefly reviewed in this section.

IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

Education was imperative in primitive societies to ensure community survival. It was also crucial for family and individual survival. Tribes that depended on hunting animals and collecting indigenous fruits for their food, for example, had to teach the young their roles in these collective activities. It was perilous for the individual to hunt alone. The success of the hunt depended upon the effective efforts of a hunting party, working together to find the animals, surround them, kill them, and bring the meat to the camp without loss of life or severe injury. The knowledge and skills required for this activity had to be acquired by each boy as a part of his early training. The preparation of food, the care of the sick and injured, the construction of housing and clothing, all required the education of the young. In this illustration, and in other early cultures, the individual, the family and the community depended on education for survival and well-being.

Even in primitive societies, the educational responsibilities were allocated to several institutions. For example, to teach boys to hunt was the collective responsibility of the active adult males. To teach girls the care of the sick, food preparation and the fabrication of clothing was the task of the adult females in the family. Tribal defense was taught by a council of adult males. The education of priests or medicine men was delegated to a formal institution separated from the common life much like schools.

IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Those who came from England and settled in America during the Colonial Period generally patterned their institutions after those they had known in England. The English common law at that time required the individual to be part of a family, either his/her family of origin, or a family to which s/he was assigned by the authorities. The family was held responsible for teaching the child how to make a living, to respect and obey constituted authority, to participate in community tasks, and to perform his/her religious duties. If the family's working situation provided no opportunity for the child to learn how to make a living, the family was held responsible for bonding the child out to some other person or family as bond servant or apprentice. In exchange for the child's labor, s/he was to be taught an occupation. At that time, reading, writing and arithmetic were not generally considered essential for children. The elite of English and Colonial societies arranged for the literacy education of their children, usually by tutors but sometimes in formal schools. Youth from the ruling class were enrolled in secondary schools to gain a more advanced education in preparation for their roles in society. Colleges were founded to educate young men for the ministry and for other responsibilities of the ruling and leisured classes.

The sect known in England as the Dissenters, and commonly referred to in America as Pilgrims, sought to provide literacy for all children because of their belief that each individual could find his or her way to God only by being able to read and understand the Bible and not by the intercession of a priest. Hence, schools to teach literacy were founded in New England shortly after the Pilgrims arrived. But the Dissenters were not different from other English colonists in placing the responsibility on the family for most educational tasks. The community was responsible in all colonies for some form of training of boys for participation in the collective defense against Indians, beasts, floods and hurricanes.

IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA

During the 19th century, every state established common schools to teach basic skills, and most children attended when their parents believed they could be spared from their work at home, on the farm, or in other places where the children were employed. This condition resulted in variable school attendance, but most schools were not graded and the practice was

to require the student to pick up when s/he returned at the place in the reader, the speller and the arithmetic book where s/he left off when last in school. Religious institutions were expected to teach their doctrines and the child's religious duties. The home was held responsible for teaching obedience, respect for constituted authorities, and acceptable social behavior. Occupational training was also the responsibility of the home, but this was sometimes delegated to others through apprenticeship or informal on-the-job training. In most states, the right to vote was extended only to those who could demonstrate having learned literacy and could make a living.

The elite of the 19th century usually sent their youth to academies and to colleges. In the Southeast, tutors were quite often employed for secondary education in place of the academies. However, public high schools were increasing in number, although it was 1912 before every state had public high schools which provided greater opportunity for social mobility than did the academies.

IN TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICA

The 19th century was a period of increasing industrial development and urbanization which made possible a greater investment in education by the home and the community. At the beginning of the 19th century, nearly 60 percent of the U.S. labor force was engaged in agriculture; in 1900 only 38 percent was thus employed. In 1900, 23 percent of the labor force was employed as non-farm unskilled laborers, while the skilled and semi-skilled had increased to 34 percent. The latter category mostly gained their skills primarily through apprenticeship. Schools were not designed to teach these skills. It should be noted that five percent in 1900 were employed in professional and managerial work, and many of these positions were filled by persons who had not attended college.

By 1910, 50 percent of the children who were enrolled in the first grade completed the sixth grade. Ten percent of that age group graduated from high school, and three percent finished college. The educational distribution approximated the occupational distribution.

When the United States entered World War I, some two million young men were drafted into military service. The tests given them in 1918 showed 35 percent of the eighteen-year olds could read simple material and were described as literate -- compared with the historians' estimate that

approximately fifteen percent of the adults in the colonies were literate at the time of the Declaration of Independence. Universal literacy had come to be accepted as a goal for American schools and it appears that substantial progress toward this goal was made in the 19th century; however, about two-thirds of American youth were not literate in 1918. In 1943, when young men entering the military in World War II were given reading tests, about 55 percent were found to be literate. The last reading survey of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (1980) showed that about 80 percent of seventeen-year olds were able to read simple material. The rapid social changes in the 20th century have been accompanied by great progress toward the goal of universal literacy.

As the schools made substantial progress toward the goal of universal literacy, the supporting environments of home and community were important elements in stimulating and encouraging students to learn what the schools were teaching and in furnishing increasing opportunities to use their acquired skills. The publication of books, magazines and newspapers flourished, thus providing a wide range of reading material. Occupations requiring the use of basic skills were being filled by an increased proportion of the labor force. The aspirations of parents for their children included, in many cases, the expectation of increased education which would translate into higher-paying occupations. The experience of the nation in moving and settling in the frontier had taught civic leaders that the basic needs of individuals in the modern world could only be met by a productive and relatively stable community. It was also understood that the child could achieve his educational potential only within a supportive family or family substitute.

The Period from 1900 to 1940

In looking more closely at the educational situation in America in the 40 years preceeding World War II, one can recognize the different but complimentary roles of home, community and school in the education of a majority of children. What were then called "good homes" taught their children truthfulness, honesty, industry, punctuality, and responsibility for others. They emphasized respect for constituted authority and obedience of the law. They dwelt on the importance of education and schools, and stressed the special responsibility of the strong to care for the weak. Although the school was not the primary place where these virtues were taught, the

teachers and the school community reinforced these values and provided situations in which these virtues were practiced.

What were referred to in those days as "bad homes" provided very little direct teaching of their children other than the behavior required for survival in the home. Hence, their children were often in conflict with the rules and practices in the school and a majority failed to complete successfully in the elementary school. However, because the community, in general, and the place of work, in particular, demanded of young people truthfulness, honesty, a full day's work, and respect for certain authorities, some children from "bad homes" learned these virtues from community and work experience.

In those days, most schools relied heavily on corporal punishment when it was felt to be necessary to establish a "working environment" in the classroom and on the playground. Surveys of high school students indicated that a majority of young people viewed the high school as a more democratic community than they had experienced outside of school. It was a community, they believed, in which almost all members were respected, where most students were treated fairly and justly, and where concern for the common welfare was evident.

In addition to its role in reinforcing the learning initiated by the home and the larger community, school had a special role in introducing young people to the resources available to them in the work of scholars and scientists over the centuries. More specifically, the school was expected to help its students: (i) gain a broader and more objective view of the world than everyday experience in the community provided; (ii) understand and deal with complex and difficult phenomena that require organization of experience and distribution of practice over considerable periods of time; (iii) understand and deal with matters where the essential factors are not obvious to one observing the relevant phenomena and where concepts, principles, and meanings must be brought specially to the attention of the learner; (iv) learn important attitudes, skills, and knowledge for which the learning experiences could not be provided directly in the ordinary activities of life; (v) acquire important values and practices which demand a "more purified" environment than is available outside of school, such as appreciation of literature, music and art, and counteracting the vulgarities and obscenities of language and art prevalent in the community; and (vi)

reexamine and reinterpret their contemporary experiences so as to learn constructively from them.

The foregoing analysis is a somewhat idealized picture of the distribution of responsibility for the education of young people which had come to be understood by civic and educational leaders before World War II. During this period, most children were brought up in stable homes, either with their parents or with relatives. Most young people participated in the work of the family and the community and learned things of value in these experiences. The elementary school enrolled a vast majority of children and more than half of the age group went on to high school. But the situation changed greatly between 1940 and 1980.

In Contemporary American Society

Since 1940, the acceleration of urbanization and of the employment of family members outside the home has resulted in a substantial erosion of the out-of-school part of our children's educational system. The two most obvious features in this erosion are: (a) the great increase in the proportion of mothers of school age children who are in the labor force; and (b) the large fraction of the time that children employ in viewing television. As late as 1960, only 26 percent of the mothers of school age children were in the labor force (in 1980 the percentage was 59) and most of these families did not provide adequate supervision for their children during the time when they came home from school until a parent returned home.

Another cause for concern is the finding of Schramm and Parker (1961), based on a national survey, that the average child between ten and fourteen spends 1,500 hours per year watching television and only 1,100 hours per year in school. Although there are some television programs that can stimulate educational experiences, Gerbner's (1972) analysis of the programs actually viewed by children found that they were predominantly amusing, calling for no effort from the children to learn something significant. Instead of working on school assignments or doing family chores -- activities in which constructive learning is possible -- a majority of young people are sitting passively before the television set.

It was noted above in this section that the several parts of earlier educational systems had certain independent features. As skills in reading, writing and arithmetic were developed in the school, the student found

opportunities for their use in activities outside the school, both in work and in recreation. Skills quickly would become inoperative when their use was infrequent. If the only reading required of youth is that assigned in school, reading skills do not reach a mature level. If writing is limited to an occasional note or letter, writing skills remain very primitive. If arithmetic is not used in home activities, such as consumer buying, furniture construction and budgeting, or in any type of outside work, arithmetic skills and problem-solving are likely to be underdeveloped. Hence, the total educational system needs to be viewed as one in which practice as well as initial learning is provided.

The functioning of the total educational system is particularly important in the development of moral character. A basic element of democratic theory is that the citizen respects the dignity and worth of others, that s/he considers the public interest as s/he deliberates on public issues, and that s/he has the courage to act in accordance with what s/he believes to be right. In short, a mature citizen in a democratic society has developed what is variously called moral character, ethical behavior, or good citizenship.

In the past, the experiences which helped young people to develop character were provided by the home, church, community associations, school and print media. Parents and other adults had more opportunities to serve as examples for youth. They were more explicit than many adults are today about what social values were desirable, and these values were shared throughout the community. There were more occasions in which the decisions and actions of youth were treated as educationally important, eliciting immediate approval or disapproval. Schools and colleges served to add intellectual ground for character development. They also furnished a community in which social behavior was practiced. The media of an earlier day generally emphasized social values similar to those of home and church.

Today, youth are bombarded with examples of conflicting values, not only in the commercials and other content of television, radio and reading materials, but also in the situations many of them observe in their communities. The church is reaching a smaller proportion of young people, and many parents are confused about the values they should emphasize in rearing their children. Furthermore, most parents have fewer opportunities to exemplify social values in working and playing with their children. Schools and colleges, too, are furnishing a more limited set of experiences for character

development. The result is a serious absence in our contemporary society of comprehensive educational experiences to aid children and youth in developing character and citizenship. The total educational environment must be reconstructed.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE PRESENT

This reconstruction will not be an easy task. Many families have developed practices that would require radical change if the full development of their children is to be a major purpose. Community youth-serving agencies will need new foci and programs or be replaced by others more relevant in their concerns and more effective in their functioning. Opportunity for employment and significant learning in the work place will require reexamination of the practices of employers and potential employers, and the modification of, or elimination of, constraints that presently prevent youth employment, severely limit opportunities for progressively more demanding and more responsible work assignments, and seriously limit the broader educational outcomes that could result from a close correlation between theory and practice, work and education. The school must also participate enthusiastically in developing programs and practices closely and appropriately related to the children's experiences outside of school.

Although the task is difficult it is essential. The vitality and stability of our political, economic and social institutions are dependent on the effectiveness of the total educational system. So, too, is the mature development of each young person. This system must not be permitted to disintegrate.

SECTION TWO

EXPANDING ENVIRONMENTS FOR LEARNING:

THE MAKING AND BREAKING OF LEARNING BOUNDARIES

Robert L. Sinclair and Ward J. Ghory

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There is a sense of urgency building as educators join in a search for the changing role of the school in contemporary society. Throughout the country educators are starting to take inventory of what schools can do and should do. This effort is picking up momentum and what has always been known is becoming more readily acknowledged -- schools are a necessary yet single part of a larger network of learning environments that are important for effective education.

We believe that American education is entering a "period of inclusion," characterized by increased use of non-school environments for encouraging desired learning. In simple terms, more attention will be given to including what happens to learners outside of school as part of the curriculum. Building a coordinated curriculum that spans several settings may prove to be one of the persistent problems in the future. The major purpose of this section, then, is to suggest directions for deliberate and constructive collaboration between schools and other educational agents. Professional educators know that learning takes place through direct experiences provided in and beyond school settings. We think the challenges of the coming decades will be met by a productive system of educational environments that better connects school and non-school learning.

SOCIETAL CONDITIONS

The tension calling for a re-thinking of the school's responsibilities is generated, in part, by societal conditions that are altering the reality of school programs. The aim here is not to conduct a comprehensive analysis of all societal demands, but to make clear that the current concern about

incorporating the educating potential of non-school environments as a deliberate part of the curriculum is a result of pressures from outside the school. Six societal conditions encourage a spirited dialogue about the school's changing role.

Fragmented Association Among Educating Institutions. The primary educating institutions of contemporary life -- family, media, school, peer group, religious setting, workplace, etc. -- do not seem to work together in a coherent, organized learning system. Indeed, the configuration of education that served us adequately and, in some ways, admirably for a century (with the school at its center and the family, church and local community as its supporting branches) is now fragmented and in some disarray. The parts of the system too often function at cross purposes. Further, the position of the school in this configuration is obscured by the rise of different agents for learning and sources of knowledge. For example, popular literature, newspapers, magazines, radio, movies, telephones, records and expanded travel opportunities have opened up more ways of gaining information, skills and attitudes than were previously available in a self-contained community in the early part of this century. Service professions have also proliferated, providing instruction in every conceivable aspect of daily life that duplicates or supplants the offerings of traditional schools. Also, with the advent of television, the peer group, and the work place as active agents providing opportunities for learning, the demands for change within the learning system are accelerated. In short, the resurgence of interest in the responsibilities of schools has emerged when the role of the school within an expanding configuration of educating institutions was gradually changing (Niebuhr, 1981).

Criticism of the School as an Institution. The questioning of school's purpose is taking place in response to criticisms that come from varied quarters in society: conservatives, humanists, neo-Rousseauian "de-schoolers" and neo-Marxists (Husen, 1979). The combined criticisms carry a freight of unmet expectations, bringing again into the foreground the school's symbolic role in the American dream. Americans invest so much hope in the institution to which we send our children. We delegate increasing responsibilities to schools that conflict with and prevent completion of other educational responsibilities, then criticize the institution for not fulfilling all our expectations. The school's successes and failures do not occur in a social

vacuum. As Cremin (1976) points out, where the public school has succeeded, it has functioned as part of a network of education that usually included the family and church, all committed to similar or complimentary values, all functioning with agreed-upon divisions of responsibilities. Hence, the criticism that unmistakably surrounds the school's search for its role in society is responsible for much of the tone of this quest.

Shrinking Financial Resources Available to Support Schools. When funds are short and cuts have to be made, educators and citizens must think carefully about what educational role should be filled by schools. Faced with the prospect of higher taxes to support schools, taxpayers also inquire more deeply into the value of the educational product they receive for their investment. But the financial crunch is acute because many of the societal supports that added value to the local school are disappearing. As the mobility of families and school staffs increases, the school can no longer turn for financial support to the multi-generational family that used to live in the same community, attend the neighborhood school, and support trusted teachers. Shrinking resources, then, force the examination of purposes in a particularly uncomfortable fashion for the schools.

Fluctuations of Student Population. The continuation of the growth of the student population seemed such a sure bet that educators and legislators tied funding levels to it. After all, schooling expanded steadily through the first three quarters of the present century. Unfortunately, growth assumptions about getting bigger (but not necessarily getting better) pervaded the planners' thinking. It was irresistible, then, when the population decreased and funds grew short, not to think in terms of "decline" in a qualitative sense as well. What were the purposes of education, many asked themselves, if additional programs and services could no longer be created?

Limited Success of the School at Serving Formerly Marginal Groups. The school's purposes are challenged by the fact that educators are only partially successful with students from the margins of society -- those who have been held at a distance by political and social means; those who suffered from a variety of physical, mental or emotional handicaps; or those who, for a variety of reasons, were less ready for what the school had to offer and are hence more difficult to teach (Cremin, 1976, p. 86). Although an initial reaction is to blame the people forced to the margins of the problem, inevitably the organization and ultimately the purposes of the school have to be

investigated in light of the school's avowed commitment to provide equal educational opportunity for all.

The Changing Nature of the Labor Market. Self-questioning by educators was made unavoidable by inexorable changes in the organization of production. With increasing technological complexity, growing automation, and continual consolidation of smaller firms into multi-national concerns, the unskilled and self-employed labor markets have diminished. This makes the old educational "outs" of ignoring, failing, or expelling particularly those at the margins look like cruel courses of action because it is increasingly more difficult to leave school and enter the labor market. Hence, the so-called sorting function of schools became obviously problematic in light of the dead-end alternatives facing those who complete schooling but do not have an opportunity to join the work force.

These six societal conditions, among others, demand that a clearer understanding be reached of what schools are for. Of course, cracks in the configuration of education follow fault-lines appearing throughout American society and culture. Fundamental issues are being raised about shared images of a good life and hopes for children and society when the purposes of schools come into question. Yet, as these problematic issues come into focus, it is also a promising time for the reformulation of practice that must accompany institutional improvement (Cremin, 1976, p. 53).

IMPROVEMENT AND SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

Improvements in educational practice can be gained during these times of uncertainty and reduced resources. As noted above, concerns about the ends of education resurface as social conditions change. These concerns will necessitate a series of new decisions throughout the next decades, but their long-term consideration and far-reaching nature should not inhibit us from beginning to formulate plans to put into practice.

What direction will school improvement take in the 1980's? Public schools can become more effective by strengthening their relations with other institutions that are educationally important. This is part of the answer to determining the directions for reconstruction of schools in the United States. Like a person coping with identity issues who creates a more coherent personal direction by deliberately choosing relations and commitments with other people and enterprises, educators in schools should develop

a more effective curriculum by forming more purposeful associations with other educating institutions now insufficiently coordinated with the learning agenda of the school. This period of asking what schools are for should merge into a period of inclusion and experimentation in which educators form partnerships with parents, community leaders, media representatives, business people and elected officials. These partnerships would combine in a more powerful way the educational processes and resources that are influential in the lives of learners. As consensus grows concerning the appropriate distribution of educational responsibilities among institutions, a more compelling and better coordinated arrangement of educational environments can be constructed.

The boundaries between educating institutions must be permeable rather than closed, and educators should initiate establishing the connecting fibers between schools and other institutions that can share the responsibility for promoting learning. Constructive associations among educating institutions will help more people by opening optional avenues for learning other than those provided by the over-extended schools. For example, some adolescents impatient with abstract classroom learning might learn with a greater sense of responsibility and pride through on-the-job apprenticeships. Also, communication and constructive action across boundaries can build continuity between what is learned in each setting. In language development, where children have their first and possibly most persuasive learning in a family setting, it may be that teachers have to more directly engage the parents as instructors and seek to extend, compliment or refine what is being taught in the home. By developing with their students an awareness of additional environments for learning and an ability to benefit from these other sources of instruction on their own, educators can empower individuals to choose and design their own programs of continuous learning from various institutions. Finally, by establishing more constructive associations, educators can contribute to improvement of their own and other institutions. If this stage of mutual responsibility is reached, consideration of the purposes of education and the responsibilities of multiple institutions for learning will have contributed to institutional renewal throughout the society.

The First Partners: Family, Media, and Workplace

Outreach by educators can begin with the three key educating institutions:

the family, the media and the workplace. Within each type of institution are specific conditions that must be respected, yet general reasons for selecting each starting place can be identified.

As the primary educators, parents, relatives and siblings create together a sustained and intense family learning environment which influences the young child's development during formative stages of growth. Even as the school, the media and the peer group interact with the home setting, members of the family continue to filter and interpret these other educational influences, mediating their impact on the learner through actions that are repeated or elaborated daily. Parents typically seek a controlling role in selecting and orchestrating outside educational influences for their children. The interest of parents in their children's growth and development is intense, creating a natural point of entry for educators to improve family decisions about learning opportunities at home or in the community. When educators can utilize the wisdom taught in families to challenge young minds, and when families can turn their considerable interpretive and screening powers to support and extend the social and academic teachings of schools, a powerful force for children's learning will have been created.

As the next most important partners, representatives of the mass media (including cinema, television, radio, newspapers, magazines) also must be approached by educators. After all, television alone currently outranks the schools as Gans (1976) points out "in terms of size of operation and audience, in the amount of time and intensity of interest devoted by that audience, and in the diversity of its course content." There is much to learn from the media professionals, as well as there is much to teach them about education.

As a partner with schools for attracting a learner's attention to agreed-upon content, the media would bring undeniable strengths. Participation with media is voluntary, whereas school attendance is currently compulsory until sixteen. The media emphasizes drama and humor, exciting visual and auditory effects, simultaneous transmission of current events, and sensational exploitation of taboo topics; while at present the schools emphasize printed materials, a limited range of verbal teaching techniques, and conventional, sometimes outdated material. Furthermore, the media require a minimum of social restrictions (for example, television requires no one else to play and costs less than a penny per hour to operate), whereas the school environment requires mostly group-oriented behaviors.

These troubling comparisons suggest strengths the schools can incorporate through successful partnership with cable TV companies, radio networks, and movie houses. Media representatives, however, also need to learn from educators about the dangerous human consequences of pleasures gained through entertainment that is received without effort and accepted without guided thought. The media must also consider the experience educators have with children to understand the impact of exposure to taboo topics like violence, complicated sexual and emotional relationships, or the effect of idealized material fantasies on unprepared or inexperienced youth. Further, the media can add to its repertoire much of what educators have learned about active learning, the process of inquiry, or the exploration of alternative explanations. For just as the schools need lessons in making learning more exciting, so the media need lessons in stimulating social responsibility and commitment to participation in common enterprises. When the media are brought more carefully into the educational and socialization systems employed by families and schools, another powerful force for children will have been created.

Educators and representatives of various workplaces can probe their existing relationships to identify points of productive collaboration. As Cremin (1976, p. 22) notes: "Every employer has a curriculum which he teaches deliberately and systematically over time. The curriculum includes not only the technical skills of typing or welding or reaping or teaching, but also the social skills of carrying out those activities in concert with others on given time schedules and according to established expectations and routines." In the relationship between the schools and the workplace, the schools have increasingly over-emphasized a narrow vocational theme. Indeed, Americans have been witness over the last 75 years to an emerging consensus "that public schools are important as economic instrumentalities, deriving integrity and meaning from the ways in which they prepare students for participation in the labor market rather than from the ways that they inform the exercise of critical intelligence or moral and civic consciousness" (Finkelstein, 1981).

The preference for technical over intellectual learning has created a false standard for judging the school curriculum in terms of its contribution to the learning of marketable skills. Paradoxically, this has occurred at the very time that businesses and professions are recognizing that they

can do a better job of training employees than the schools. Xerox and McDonald's (just like hospitals and the military) develop their own colleges or training programs for the efficient training of employees. These workplaces require schools to provide the human ingredients, the intellectual and social structures on which training in the corporate and technological world can build.

Schools and workplaces should examine their respective curricula and interests to identify parts of the curriculum that would be desirable for the school to relinquish and for the workplace to absorb. This does not imply a complete either/or relationship. It means that there will be some learning that can best take place in the work setting (e.g., study and practice of tasks from the real world of work); some learning that can best take place in the schools (e.g., fundamental reading and writing skills); and some learning that should be collaboratively attempted (e.g., honing of communication skills or practice in problem-solving). Of course, this is the same balance that must be sought with other institutions that educate. However, educators must be the initiators of this new configuration of education with the family, the media and the workplace as the most compelling partners for learning.

Making And Breaking The Boundaries For Learning

The responsibilities of schools are difficult to redefine or transfer to other groups, and distressing to eliminate entirely. Responsibilities are often accepted as goals (both appropriately and inappropriately) in reaction to the efforts of many diverse groups whose interests prevailed over others, and then persisted on the agenda.* It has proven to be nearly impossible to clearly conceptualize the total range of existing responsibilities, because of the overlapping and sometimes inconsistent nature of these responsibilities, and because of ongoing ideological efforts of their various advocates. Yet, in this period of our history, major institutions like the schools (one could easily add the government, the health care system, and the criminal justice

* As Goodlad notes, historically four general categories of goals for schools have emerged sequentially in the United States: academic goals; vocational goals; social and civic goals; and personal goals. John I. Goodlad, What Schools Are For, (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappan, 1979), p. 44.

system) must rethink their purposes and redistribute their functions if the quality of life is to improve. Three key topics on which a consensus should be sought to guide purposeful reconstruction of public education in schools and community are advanced here. These topics are: (i) definition of education; (ii) priority goals for schools and for other institutions that educate; and (iii) the nature of the curriculum in various institutions.

The Definition Of Education. There can be no serious consideration of what schools are for without simultaneously considering what education is. It will not be easy to reach back to first principles here, since (as Illich warned) many have identified education with schooling and in the process defined education as a commodity produced by books, teachers and schools.* The fatal temptation is simply to examine the existing norms and tools of the school and extrapolate only from these regularities to the goals and definition of the educational enterprise. The circular nature of this reasoning is evident, as are the constraints such reasoning would place on the reconstruction of public education.

Defining education without reference to the image of the school is quite difficult. Cremin (1976, p. 27) has found it useful to define education as the "deliberate, systematic and sustained effort to transmit, evoke or acquire knowledge, attitudes, values, skills or sensibilities, as well as any outcome of that effort." His definition stresses an intentional effort, and incorporates cognitive, affective and psychomotor learnings. Also, it is narrower than the processes called socialization or enculturation, although inclusive of several of the same elements. His definition suggests that education is conducted in many settings, and does not preclude the fact that learning can occur in incidental ways.

John Dewey defined education in related terms, but shifted the emphasis from the point of view of the provider to the experiences of the learning individual. Education was conceptualized as the ongoing reconstruction or reorganization of individual experience. Dewey was interested (as is Cremin) in fostering the learner's desire for further educational growth,** and in

* Similarly, many view health as a commodity produced by drugs, doctors, and hospitals.

** For an expanded discussion of the definition of education, see Goodlad, op.cit., Chapter 3.

empowering the individual to know and to seek what is required for ongoing growth.

This summary of two related definitions illustrates the importance of developing an overall definition of education as a starting point for deciding how to redistribute educational responsibilities. An emerging definition of education might include: (i) consideration of the nature of the "transmission" efforts (instruction) as well as the "acquisition" efforts (learning); (ii) consideration of types of content; and (iii) consideration of the balance between uniquely individual growth and common social needs. The wider the definition of education opens, the further it moves away from any neat, ends-means purposes for schools or other institutions. As for Dewey, the individual learner would become the focal point for a broad array of educational institutions. The narrower education is defined, the more likely it will be that responsibilities will be converted into objectives that will predominate what is permitted to seek for children. The school is likely to remain the major institution for encouraging others to lead in responsible directions for quality education. Yet, on a community by community basis, we will have to ask ourselves with renewed urgency, "What is the education we want for our children?" While it is unlikely that a simple and neat academic definition will be agreed upon, the pursuit of the question is a more productive enterprise than simply chastising the schools for not providing it.

Priority Goals For Schools And Other Institutions. Consideration must be given to which educational goals should be accomplished by the schools, which goals by other institutions (e.g., family, media, the workplace, etc.), and which goals should be shared. A reasonable starting point for the selection of goals would be to develop a list based on a definition of education. The list would be in a form not unlike that prepared by John Goodlad and his colleagues (1979) in the early stages of A Study of Schooling. They synthesized goals for schooling articulated by state and local boards of education, various special commissions, and others, into a list of twelve general goals and sixty-five descriptive objectives. The twelve goals stated in topical form included:

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- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Basic Skills | 8. Creativity and Aesthetic Perception |
| 2. Career/Vocational Education | 9. Self-Concept |
| 3. Intellectual Development | 10. Emotional and Physical Well-Being |
| 4. Enculturation | 11. Moral and Ethical Character |
| 5. Interpersonal Relations | 12. Self-Realization |
| 6. Autonomy | |
| 7. Citizenship | |
-

Clearly, these goals (which represent a useful summary of current goals for schooling in the United States) could be analyzed in terms of the responsibilities of various institutions. For argument's sake, let us extend this analysis in a hypothetical way, continuing to assume that these twelve goals are associated with a definition of education. After deliberate discussions, a particular community might construct a chart like the one that follows on the next page.

On that chart, all goals are shared in a major or minor way across institutions. The primary institutions which educate are the family, the church, the workplace, the media and the schools. The school has four major priorities (basic skills, intellectual development, enculturation, and creativity/aesthetic perception); whereas the family has eight major goals. The church and the workplace each have five major goals, while the media assumes four.

The purpose here is not to debate this division of responsibilities, but to advance this topic of shared responsibility as a key one and to illustrate constructive results of dialogue about this issue. In the course of this dialogue, the validity of propositions such as the following two Goodlad (1979) has suggested could be scrutinized: "Schools should concentrate solely on the knowledge attitudes, values, skills and sensibilities that require for their cultivation in the individual deliberate, systematic and sustained effort -- [and] -- the school...should take on only those social purposes that can be converted easily and naturally into educational goals and activities."

The Nature Of The Curriculum In Various Institutions. For once people consider the possibility of the school sharing major educational responsibilities, the nature of curriculum could be liberated from the current

Educational Goals and Responsibilities in Our Community

GOALS	SCHOOLS	FAMILY	MEDIA	WORKPLACE	CULTURAL/RECREATIONAL	GOVERNMENT	CHURCH
Basic Skills	*	0	0				
Career/ Vocational		*	0	*		0	
Intellectual Development	*	0	*		0		
Enculturation	*	*	0		0		*
Interpersonal Relationship	0	*	0	*	0		0
Autonomy	0	*		*		0	0
Citizenship	0	0	*	0		*	0
Creativity/ Aesthetics	*	0	*		*		
Self-Concept	0	*	0	0	0		*
Emotional/ Physical	0	*		*	*		0
Moral/Ethical	0	*	*	0		0	*
Self- Realization	0	*		*	0		*

* = Major Responsibility

0 = Minor Responsibility

overemphasis on specific subject matter organized in courses with lists of objectives and officially adopted content in the form of printed materials. This type of curriculum was created for an information-poor society, where children obtained most of their information from direct exposure in a relatively small family, neighborhood and community context. The curriculum was the community's gateway to information and schools were the source of, monitor over, and guide to books.

Increasingly, children grow into an information-rich world, in which a competitive and wide-open communicative structure can undermine or strengthen most attempts by the family and school to shape the child's cognitive world and values through a careful selection of curriculum content. The world of youth today is increasingly action-poor, and the experiential groundwork for developing responsibility that once came from helping run the household or other productive family enterprises has eroded dramatically (Coleman, 1972). Under these conditions, curriculum emphasis must shift toward providing more opportunities for young learners to reflect on, probe and reinterpret their perceptions of the information they receive from many sources. Learners will also need a curriculum designed to integrate their experiences through active participation in socially productive roles outside the family and the school; and to develop coping skills appropriate to the complexity of problem-solving and decisionmaking in an information-rich, yet resource-limited, society. In a way, the "curriculum" will become synonymous with a deliberately shaped environment for learning* designed for various community settings, rather than a predetermined content or "style."** Similarly, in the future, "school" may come to include the education received by learners in various institutions, rather than simply connotating a single place where youth are segregated to be taught.

SUMMATION

The forces of society that resulted in the proliferation of purposes for

* For an expanded discussion of the meaning of curriculum, see Robert L. Sinclair and Ward J. Ghory, "Curriculum as Environments for Learning: A Practical Meaning and Model," ERIC Access #170 221, 1979.

** For a discussion of an educational style, see Hope Jensen Leichter, Families and Communities as Educators (New York, New York: Teachers College Press), p. 246.

schools also brought about a reexamination of what schools are for. Educators are entering a period of introspection marked by spirited and constructive dialogue about what schools do and what they should do. We suggest that the burden of societal responsibilities delegated to the schools be increasingly questioned and the educational role of other institutions in the community be acknowledged. Now the search is for ways to build a truly "public" education system. This system would be a network of purposeful learning environments, designed for the accomplishment of desirable objectives, each with clear responsibilities and each interrelated in productive ways with the others.

The expansion of learning environments into other institutions should not result in schools being forced to the margins of the newly formed education enterprise. Schools will remain at the center of effective education. However, a movement toward a more educative society challenges the identity of the schools. A defensive posture at this time would be counter-productive. Rather, it is necessary to encourage a quality dialogue among all institutions about expanding environments for learning. This dialogue and eventual cooperative decisionmaking demands an understanding of the concerns addressed in this section:* namely, the forces that are encouraging a reexamination of the purposes of schools, the possible benefits of shared responsibilities, and the possible ways institutional boundaries can be altered to expand environments for learning.

Building a coordinated system of public education to span several settings may prove to be the educator's greatest challenge in the future. Indeed, both the theory and practice of education is likely to be advanced by strengthening the relation of various educative institutions to one another

* Of course there are many additional concerns that will sharpen the discussions and actions about these topics. Some of these concerns include: (a) exploring the roles of various community settings in the socialization of children; (b) deciding on government policy for financing learning in non-school settings; (c) developing technology and programs for storage and retrieval of academic information; (d) researching the effectiveness of school-community partnerships that provide educational services; (e) preparing educational personnel for working in institutions other than schools; (f) renewing non-school settings so that oppressive conditions growing from their central missions are assessed in light of their newly acquired educational responsibilities; and (g) improving equality in education by expanding environments for learning into additional institutions that have educational importance.

and to society at large (Cremin, 1976). The examination of the purposes of schools will result in the realization that constructive collaboration can become a necessary and rewarding way of life for educators and for those they serve. Our schools have been thrust into a time for introspection. One meaningful way to emerge from this introspection is to enter a period of inclusion by expanding environments for learning. What remains to be seen is what leadership educators will provide to the formation of the coming educative society.

SECTION THREE

DEVELOPING PARENT COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC

EDUCATION: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE 1980'S

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INTRODUCTION

Public support for education is undergoing its most serious test in decades. Declining test scores, enrollments and resources, coupled with a decrease in public commitment to education, have led to a crisis of confidence in our educational system. Exacerbated by covert messages and overt actions by the Federal administration, an unmistakable pall hangs over those involved in education.

So pervasive is concern with public education that support is being withdrawn by parents, a constituency that has historically endorsed public education. Enthusiasm for vouchers and tax credits, and an increased interest in private education, are tangible manifestations of public sentiment.

As the populace is becoming increasingly discouraged with public education, educational policy is reflecting this sentiment. Tax cuts have severely limited funds available to districts, forcing modifications of programs. Federal deregulation and block grants have further altered the nature and amount of services provided in many of America's public schools.

Difficulties in American public education are further intensified by rapidly changing demographics. Declining school populations, family

Editor's Note: The authors wish to gratefully acknowledge the research and editorial assistance of Elizabeth Schreiber in this section.

instability and changing family patterns signify abrupt and pervasive changes in our nation's social fabric.

In consort, these two realities -- decreased support for education and rapidly changing demographics -- necessitate a reexamination of the fundamental relationship between schools and the communities they serve. No longer can business continue as usual. Rather, strategies appropriate to the 1980's must be explored within the context of changing resources, values and commitments. Coupling historical perspectives with new demographic data, this section will provide the basis for developing a new vision of public support for and participation in public schools -- a vision that is necessary for extending the school into the community in the 1980's.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The participatory movement of the 1960's and early 1970's was fraught with problems and, like many efforts of this period, did not reach its full potential. Given the history of parent-school alienation, the social unrest and ferment of the Civil Rights Movement, and national attention to the inequities of public education, expectations for parent involvement were unrealistically high. Often sabotaged because short-term solutions were offered for deeply-rooted structural problems, the participatory movement failed to fully consider the magnitude of the problems it hoped to arrest. The extent of parent-school alienation, the effects of poverty and generations of hopelessness, and the time required for poor parents to incorporate mainstream social skills were all vastly underestimated. When five-year programs failed to solve problems that were several generations in the making, the programs were summarily abandoned.

Although the participatory movement did not accomplish all its goals, it should not be assumed that parent participation was too difficult to achieve or had limited value because it did not prove to be a panacea for society's ills. Quite the contrary, the participatory movement of the 1960's and 1970's provided an opportunity to learn a great deal about the process and effects of involving parents in schools.

In retrospect, the processes of involving parents in schools can be classified into three primary modes of participation. The first was confrontation; poor and minority parents, in the absence of school

desegregation, stormed the schools demanding control. The second mode, in part a reaction to the first, attempted to involve parents in the existing school bureaucracy. These programs grew out of Federal funding mandates such as Title I, and were initiated by the schools, not because there was necessarily a wish to share authority and responsibility with parents, but because parent involvement was a requirement, often a troublesome one, for securing Federal funds. The third mode took the form of creating new programs like Head Start or the development of alternative schools. While parents were involved in the creation and management of both public and voluntary alternative schools, history has shown that there was little lasting carry-over of this effort to mainstream public education.

Of all the challenges facing the participatory movement, perhaps the greatest was that the issues became ones of "control" or "compliance" rather than a search for strategies to achieve effective parent-school collaboration. Parent participation became an amorphous phrase used to describe all forms of parent-school interaction: fundraising, social events, report card conferences, parent education, policy groups, personnel and budget committees and/or parent volunteer programs. The goals of parent participation were often vague and global; it is not surprising, then, that clear methods for achieving these goals did not emerge.

Further, the task of involving parents was, more often than not, delegated to a para-professional community worker who, regardless of hard work and good intentions, lacked the training required to bring parents and schools together in a collaborative enterprise. Developing partnerships between parents and schools was found to be a difficult task requiring organizational, interpersonal and training skills. This process of joining schools and parents required that each school ask: what forms of parent participation are desirable and feasible; and, what strategies can be employed to achieve them? Schools grew to realize they needed to ask and to answer these questions based on their school's particular needs, history and resources. Schools came to understand that there were no "pat" solutions, and that parent participation needed to have parent-school collaboration as its ultimate goal in order to be effective.

Beyond learning about the process of involving parents in schools, much research was conducted regarding the effects of parent involvement. Researchers examined the effects of parent participation on children, on parents themselves, and on schools and other community institutions. From many studies, we have general information indicating that, when parents demonstrate a strong interest in their children's schools, attitudes and behaviors that facilitate learning are enhanced. Parents who feel a sense of commitment to the school transmit these values to their youngsters, thereby promoting accelerated achievement. For example, Benson, Buckley and Medrich (1980) report that children whose parents spend time with them in educational activities or are involved in school activities achieve more in school, regardless of socioeconomic status, although different types of activities have different effects on low-, middle- or high-income children.

Matuszek (1977), in a review of the research on parent involvement, found that a number of studies show that parent involvement can be effective in improving the academic achievement of low-income and minority youngsters. Herman and Yen (1980), in a study of 250 California schools, found that parent involvement at the elementary level had a positive relationship to student achievement and to parent satisfaction with the school. Research has also demonstrated that there are lasting effects of parent involvement on children's academic performance. Bronfenbrenner (1974), looking at early intervention and its effects, found that long-term gains in cognitive growth could be achieved if mothers became actively involved in their children's learning. Scott and Davis (1979) showed that disadvantaged children who participated in a three-year preschool enrichment program with strong parent involvement remained more advanced in basic skills through the third grade. In spite of these promising results, it should be pointed out that most research studies do not identify a single strategy for or mode of parent involvement that is related to higher achievement, but rather suggest that the greater the general involvement, the higher the performance level of students.

Moreover, while some studies (e.g., Brookover, et al., 1979) point out links between parent-school involvement and school achievement, differential effects may vary by socioeconomic group and race. Although research suggests that parental activities linking home and school are

correlated with achievement, more detailed studies that explore the nature of this relationship with regard to family variables (race, sex) and school variables (degree of racial integration, academic achievement, and socioeconomic levels) are needed.

Some data indicate that benefits of parent involvement were felt by parents who participated in schools. Kagan and Schraft (1979) explored one model where, using an incentive system, low-income parents were not only effectively involved in public schools, but their aspirations for themselves and their children were raised significantly. Low-income parents in this study attributed their additional changes to their positive experiences with and involvement in the schools. Adams' (1976) study reported that all parents who had participated in a policymaking capacity in Head Start programs indicated personal changes as a result of their participation. The most dramatic changes (from being on welfare to being off welfare) were reported by those who were most intensely involved. Lopate, Flaxman, Bynum and Gordon (1969) reviewed the literature on the impact of parent participation on parents' attitudes and found that the involvement of parents in school affairs had a positive correlation to parents' evaluations of the importance of education and their attitude towards the school as an institution. In a study of Head Start centers, Mowry (1972) found that centers with high levels of parent involvement consistently had children who performed higher on standardized tests, had parents who were more satisfied, and had communities that were more responsive to the disadvantaged than centers with low involvement. Confirming the broad effects of parent involvement, Gordon (1978) indicated that the more comprehensive and long-lasting the parent involvement, the more effective it is likely to be, not only on children's achievement, but also on the quality of schools as institutions serving the community.

In short, the legacy of the participatory movement is mixed. While it illuminated the beneficial effects of parent participation, it also revealed both the complexities of public education, and the degree to which parent participation was shaped by forces outside the schools. In the 1970's, parent participation -- the physical presence of parents on the educational scene and their participation in various forms of school decisionmaking -- was predicated on the availability of parents during the school day, and on

their ability to attend evening and weekend meetings. In the 1980's, with the increase in single parent families and out-of-home employment by adults, the ability of parents to participate in the traditional ways -- volunteerism, workshops, governance groups -- has been diminished. Given a changed political and demographic climate, parent participation strategies of the 1980's will need to modify outmoded techniques of the 1960's and 1970's. Social, political and demographic realities endemic to the 1980's will need to be considered as new modes of parent participation are developed.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS: THE CLIMATE OF THE 1980'S

The educational and political climate of the early 1980's is best described as "public sector retrenchment." As school populations continue to dwindle, even long-term personnel find their positions jeopardized. As a profession, education is no longer attracting top quality individuals at the entry level. To the contrary, the educational establishment is correctly concerned about the basic skills of entering professionals. States, aware of the decline in teacher competence, are instituting minimum performance standards in hopes of maintaining educational quality in the teaching force.

The quality of public schools is debased, not only by a decline in the quality of those attracted to the profession, but is hallmarked by a growing percentage of academically qualified youngsters who opt out of public schools, selecting private or parochial alternatives. Parents of children previously enrolled in public schools are making important commitments to non-public education, thereby further eroding the constituency so necessary to sustain financial support for public education.

Lacking adequate financial support from the community, educators feel harangued by the challenge "to do more with less." Effectively, this vote of "no confidence" not only seriously limits educators' wherewithall to perform their responsibilities, but minimizes their desire to do so. Demoralized by lack of local support, educators are less well equipped to handle the additional challenges imposed by reduced Federal support. In sum, education in the early 1980's is riddled with challenges but is less well equipped to handle school-related problems generated by fiscal retrenchment.

The problems of American education are and always have been heightened by the problems facing society. Because education traditionally has been regarded as a partial panacea for decreasing societal inequities, the burdens facing the schools are exacerbated in a period characterized by rapid demographic changes. Various trends clearly indicate that the educational establishment will be forced to deal with a variety of new challenges. After a brief review of four trends -- fertility, mobility, divorce and remarriage, and working women -- implications for parent participation in the 1980's will be suggested.

Fertility

According to the 1980 Census, the national raw fertility rate (i.e., the average number of children per woman) is now 1.9, less than the 2.1 children needed for the natural replacement of the population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981). As the number of children per woman decreases, so does the average family size. In 1947, the average family size was nearly four persons, but by 1978 the mean size had decreased to closer to three (Treas, 1981). Some demographers predict that the average family size will fall to about 1.5 children by the turn of the century.

While birth rates are decreasing for the majority of women, two dichotomous trends are emerging. One trend is the "thirty-year panic" where couples, realizing the woman is approaching the limit of her child-bearing years, attempt pregnancy (Parker, Peltier and Wolleat, 1981). Many become mid-life parents, but others, discovering that they are unable to conceive, turn to adoption (Rapoport, Rapoport and Strelitz, 1980). With fewer youngsters available for adoption, children are becoming more valued and more precious.

The other trend, at the opposite end of the spectrum, is teen-age pregnancy. About ten percent of all females between the ages of 15 and 19 become pregnant annually, accounting for 1.1 million pregnancies and about 600,000 births. Of these, about 250,000 children are born out of wedlock (Levitan and Belous, 1981). Poignant as these figures are, the concomitant problems associated with teen-age pregnancy must not be overlooked. Teen-age motherhood is associated with reduced educational and occupational attainment, higher marital instability, and higher subsequent fertility.

Projected trends for fertility in 1990 indicate that 50 percent of all couples will not have children at home. Of those couples who will have children, 20 percent expect to have only one child. With more children growing up as only children, attention must be paid to the strengths and vulnerabilities of the only child. "Children in an 'old' society are in danger on the one hand of being toys for adults and on the other hand of being pressed into premature adulthood" (Bane, 1976, p. 113). We can expect more only children and children from smaller families. Decreasing family size will increase the importance of friendships, neighborhoods, and organizations as sources of support and personal ties. The idealization of the nuclear family with two children can no longer be the model for the policymaker. Diverse life styles, coupled with adults freely choosing to become parents, will become the norm.

Mobility

At least 40 million Americans change their residence once a year, and the average person will move fourteen times in his or her lifetime (Gordon, 1976). Although moves are traditionally associated with career or financial changes, society often neglects the emotional consequences of mobility for children and adults. Mobility creates a paradox in the nuclear family system. The family is shrinking in size and moving away from traditional familial and communal supports. As it does so, it becomes increasingly isolated from individuals who lend support. Rather than calling on individuals, the family now calls on institutions, schools or hospitals to assist in performing family functions. Schools, therefore, have the potential to become very important institutions in the lives of families. In a collection of her writings, Aspects of the Present, Margaret Mead (1980) summarized our current state well:

What we failed to realize is that even as we have separated the single family from the larger society, we have expected each couple to take on a range of obligations that traditionally have been shared with-in a larger community (p. 102).

The loss of support from families and community ties necessitates a greater role for peers and for institutions.

Divorce and Remarriage

A 65 percent increase in the number of divorces during the last decade has resulted in the reality that one out of every five children have single parents. This trend is expected to continue into the 1990's when one out of every three youngsters will have parents who divorce (Bane, 1976).

One important consequence of divorce is the rise of the single parent family. During this decade, single parent households increased by 73 percent while married households decline by four percent. Of all families, 19 percent are single parent households; of these, 17 percent are female headed. Female-headed households are the largest sub-group below the poverty level, with more than half dependent on welfare (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980).

The rate of remarriage is keeping up with the rate of divorce. Sixty-seven percent of all people who divorce remarry, indicating that there remains a strong desire for a compatible marriage and family life (Norton and Glick, 1979). Of these remarriages, 60 percent involve children, making transitions potentially more complicated and stressful (Garfield, 1980). Problems arising from feelings of rivalry, envy, and conflicts regarding the replaced or displaced natural parent are common. Given these trends, it is reasonable to assume that divorce, and its stressful concomitants, will continue to persist with a similar intensity.

Research results regarding the effects of divorce are varied, and reveal complications regarding the application of social science research to policy. On one hand, research indicates that divorce has initial negative effects on children. Hetherington (1979) indicates that "even children who later are able to recognize that the divorce has constructive outcomes initially undergo considerable emotional stress with family dissolution" (p. 851). Other work indicates that children are no longer considered victims of broken homes, and that, in the course of adjusting to divorce, children have been shown to acquire strengths and responsibilities, highlighting the fact that divorce need not be a traumatic experience for all children (Kurdek and Siesky, 1980, p. 99). These perspectives indicate that the final word on divorce effects is not in as yet, but that, as a social trend, divorce has multiple consequences

for parents, and their relationship to public schools.

Working Women

In 1980, for the first time in history, more than 50 percent of American women participated in the paid labor force. Whatever the rationale, the rise of women in the work force has created challenges for individuals and institutions. Juggling work and married life is a reality for 25 percent of all married women. The most striking change in demographics related to working women is the increased employment of working mothers. Currently, 44.9 percent of mothers with children under six are in the labor force, compared to 18.6 percent in 1960. Of mothers with children between the ages of six and seventeen, 62 percent are currently in the labor force in contrast to 39 percent in 1960 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981). Although working mothers confront many issues (e.g., guilt, perceptions of self-worth, fatigue), the single largest problem is child care.

Currently, only ten to fifteen percent of all preschool children of working mothers are cared for in day care centers. The rest are cared for individually or in small groups in their own homes or in the home of a care-taker who may or may not be related to the child (Hofferth and Moore, 1979). For many others who cannot afford or find after-school care, the alternative becomes the key. Latch-key children, those unsupervised by an adult after school, are estimated to number four million. This unfortunate trend is exacerbated by fertility and mobility rates. Smaller family size decreases the likelihood of having adolescents and young children at home during the same years. Increased popularity of retirement villages remove the elderly who are traditional providers of child care from the community. For all these reasons, schools re-evaluating their roles in the 1980's may well want to consider assisting parents to meet these needs, either through direct service or referral.

Demographers and sociologists predict that, by 1990, the labor force will consist of 56 million women and 66 million men. This means that 70 to 80 percent of all women 20 to 25 years old will be working (Masnick and Bane, 1980). In addition to creating policies that promulgate increased child care through public or private sector initiatives, schools will need to create environments and programs that prepare students for

the world of work. There has always been a direct relationship between schooling and economic well-being. Now, however, as corporations develop their own training programs -- conservatively estimated to cost \$30 billion a year, an amount nearly equal to the total expenditures by public institutions of higher education (Levine, 1982) -- public schools must creatively and energetically forge new alliances with the business community.

Taken together, these trends forecast changes, not simply in the numbers of children reaching public school age, but in the very nature and constituencies available to support public education. No longer is it appropriate to mandate parent participation in school decisionmaking. Rather, an even greater responsibility befalls the educator. S/he must chart alternatives for parents while simultaneously acknowledging that the greatest need is the development of strong constituencies that will support public education. What the demographics point out is that involving the public in schools demands a reformulation of the relationship between parents, business, the community and the schools.

..PARENTS AND SCHOOLS IN THE 1980'S

Parents in the 1980's are under increased social and economic stress; as described above, families are less stable, more mobile, and are experiencing a diminished capacity to provide physical care, emotional support, and a nurturing social environment for their children within the family unit. Stress encountered by teachers is multifaceted: as teachers of tenured service lose their jobs, those that remain often feel devalued, demoralized and fearful that they may be the next to be let go. Teachers and faculty in the school are faced with personal and professional concerns. Legislators, attempting to be responsive to budget deficits plus perceived threats to our national security, have seen fit to curtail Federal dollars for education. As schools function under increasing stress, the means, desire, and energy to develop and sustain participatory programs is eroded.

Yet, in the 1980's, the very survival of public education depends on public commitment. Traditional forms of school involvement may no longer be feasible or appropriate. New mechanisms must be structured to evoke a voluntary commitment from parents and the community to public

education. Commitment is defined as the conscious choice to support the school as an embodiment of parental attitudes and values, or as a fundamental endorsement of public education as a societal imperative. Commitment also entails an active political effort on the schools' behalf by parents and other constituents concerned with education. The concept of commitment suggests a new spirit, one that encompasses multiple sectors of the economic community -- corporations and industries. Actions that represent commitments to, and inherent support of, educational institutions include parents choosing to live in a particular community or school district, corporations "adopting-a-school," and communities establishing local non-profit foundations with the single goal of supporting public education with funds from private sources. Whether or not parents actually appear at the school-house door is not the primary barometer of parental commitment. Commitment in the 1980's must reflect the lessons learned from history and incorporate the fiscal and demographic realities of this decade.

Recently, corporations have demonstrated commitment, a new spirit, toward public education. Consequently, fruitful collaborations between local districts and businesses have evolved. In an effort to stimulate public and private sector cooperation, several states have established high-level commissions or task forces to promulgate and refine the efforts. Examples of individual and corporate commitment take many forms: guidance in administrative functions; long-range planning and organizational development; training in human relations skills; and management of payroll processing, purchasing and textbook distribution. The Council of the Great City Schools has compiled a survey of cooperative endeavors between school districts, corporations, and universities in the Great City schools. Interestingly, of the 28 school districts that responded to the survey, 23 indicated that they had formal or informal agreements with the private sector to improve school district operations. Typically, collaborations took the form of loaned executives who provide expertise in management effectiveness training, facilities evaluation, and personnel utilization.

Some districts in the study involved individuals from the corporate sector in activities more immediately tied to student and curriculum

development. These included sponsoring debate teams, field trips and lectures, computer science programs, job readiness programs, student apprenticeships, family budgeting classes, and mini-banking courses. Businesses have also provided resources for scholarships, school libraries, science laboratories, and teacher guidebooks. In Denver, for example, the report indicates that "rarely is there a shortage of businesses waiting to be assigned to schools, and seldom is a school without several partners" (Council Survey, p. 39).

But corporations cannot be expected to contribute time and expertise without commitment from school personnel. Educators must do their part to create schools that warrant corporate, parental and community commitment. No longer functioning in isolation, the educational establishment must acknowledge that parents and the public will commit themselves to schools that meet the realistic needs of society. Schools that provide breakfast programs, and encourage the creation of after-school child care, will be schools actively chosen by a working parent. Schools that structure early morning conference times for working parents; schools that deploy mental health staff to lead support groups for children facing crises such as divorce, parental unemployment, or moving; schools that insure an orderly, safe environment; schools that prepare students for positions of leadership and employment -- these are the schools to which parents and community will make a commitment. Parent participation in the 1980's means creating schools of choice, rather than expecting only an active parent presence in the building.

The hard reality is that large numbers of middle-income parents support tax credits for private school tuition, school vouchers, and preferred status for independent schools. Because parents are having fewer children, private education is now a viable alternative for many working and middle-class families. Public schools can no longer dismiss the thoughts and wishes of parents or communities. To survive, schools must include evidence of parental values and schools must provide services that parents need in order to sustain their families.

Beyond creating schools that meet parents' individual needs as a vehicle to maintain parental commitment, schools must demonstrate their

efficacy to the public at large. While not shunning responsibility, realistic expectations for public education must be developed. Schools alone cannot and should not meet all social needs. Rather, responsibilities must be shared. To assume that the schools alone are the only institution that educates the young defies basic principles of child growth and development (Zigler and Kagan, 1982). By again acknowledging the important educative function of other institutions -- the family, religious organization, the workplace, the media -- the entire community becomes an educational resource. Community and schools then become reciprocally engaged in improving the quality of education.

In addition to reconsidering a shared and collective responsibility for public education by corporations, educational practitioners, and the community at large, there is an urgent need to coalesce current knowledge about family-school relationships, taking the press of current family life into consideration. Lightfoot (1978) has suggested, for example, that the issue is not how to involve families in schools, but to solidify and adapt the dual curricula of the family and the school. We are only beginning to understand some of the effects of dual-parent employment on children, but we do not yet fully understand the effects of family employment patterns on the family-school relationship. While correlational data indicate that parent involvement in school activities has beneficial effects on student performance, we do not yet fully understand how changed living and working patterns affect parents' commitment to schools or their children's behavior in schools. If, for example, greater independence is encouraged in the homes of working mothers, how is this reconciled with the dependence currently fostered in American public schools? If working parents have less free time to actually spend in schools, how can their participation be maximized and their commitment manifest?

Altered demographics signal that blatant and immediate changes are needed in political and financial support for schools. More subtly, but equally important, demographic shifts alter the way individuals and institutions accommodate to one another. That education in the 1980's needs and demands a broad constituency and solid empirical data are givens. The extent that schools succeed in involving and being involved with

parents and the community is the extent to which they will succeed as an educating force. The extent that research is supported and academicians succeed in investigating more fully the nature of changes in the socioeconomic environment and its effects on school ecologies is the extent to which American education will advance. Without commitment from community, corporate, private, business, academic and political sectors, our public education system will falter. Without a reformulatoin of what is needed and what is meant by parent involvement in the 1980's, we will become quagmired in an outmoded vision -- one that is dysfunctional in this decade. Without these commitments, those adults and children remaining in the public schools will be there because they have no options. If such a prospect comes to pass, public education as we know it in America will have ended.

SECTION FOUR

FROM SCHOOL SYSTEM TO EDUCATIVE SYSTEM:

LINKING THE SCHOOL WITH COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTS

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When discussing alternative approaches to community involvement in education, it is important to recall that, in our democratic society, citizen participation is a right, in and of itself. Whether or not citizen participation has a measurable effect on student achievement, it is to be valued, promoted and implemented as a right. A number of studies indicate that there are indeed some definite positive relationships between parent participation and student achievement, and this correlation is clearest -- and highest -- when citizen involvement is focused on instruction and when parent participation is centered around the activity of instruction itself (Fantini, 1980). This section will focus on models of school and community collaboration zeroing in more directly on attempts to improve both student learning and the educative impact of community participation.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS FOR A DISCUSSION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY COLLABORATION

First of all, the process and goal of education are intrinsically tied to the development of human potential. Everyone is unique. Along with this, everyone not only has the potential to learn but the right to develop their potential fully and, simultaneously, the right to assume control of their own destiny. Education, as a process, is confluent with the process of human growth. The ideal, the end, and the final goal of education must be equally humanistic, involving the creation of a humane and caring society (and the realization of societal interdependencies), a society that is, first and foremost, devoted to freedom, justice and the development of individual

Editor's Note: The author would like to acknowledge the editorial and research assistance given by Ms. Laura Holland in this work.

growth.

Education, therefore, can be seen as a social process. It is a life-long activity, that takes place in a variety of settings -- formal, informal and (increasingly so in recent years, on an international scope) non-formal. These settings are the environments, or contexts, for learning whether they exist in the schools, the home or various community agencies. The quality of these learning contexts and the quality of those who influence, assist or support learners in those contexts ("teachers" -- in a broad definition of the word), are the two key aspects of education. Quality in education is crucial. It is far too crucial to be left to chance; it cannot be a matter of mere luck or happenstance; moreover, it cannot favor one group or style at the expense of others. Quality education must be a right that exists for all learners.

It is only recently that educators have been committed to the full development of individual potential. This is a fairly new philosophical and psychological orientation, and practice -- in education as well as in economics and politics -- has not yet caught up with theory. However, any and all efforts along these lines must be recognized, applauded and further implemented. Philosophically, we have been moving in this direction for some time. Certainly the philosophy of John Dewey has been important, both as crucial underpinning for the view of education as a social process and for specific developments in the arena of community education and, internationally, non-formal education (Fantini, 1980a). In "The Random Falls Idea" (Shaw and Reid, 1956), Dewey's philosophy was the basis for a full plan and physical plan geared towards community involvement in education. Of course, that was fictional and that was in 1956; nowadays we are seeing increasing actual efforts in the direction first indicated by Dewey so many years ago.

In the field of psychology, the theories of Abraham Maslow offer an alternative to the twin poles of behaviorism and psychoanalysis, and provide impetus and support in the move towards humanistic education. As the leading theorist and advocate of humanistic psychology, Maslow (1978) developed the ideal of an innate human drive towards self-actualization, an inherent urge, that is, to become all that one is capable of becoming and thus fulfilling one's individual potential. A different psychological theory which lends support to educators' efforts and commitment to develop the potential of each and every individual comes from B.F. Skinner. Skinner (1948, 1978) believes

that the only difference between learners is the time that it takes to learn. Thus all individuals can learn and the failure of any given individual to learn indicates some flaw in the program of learning, and not some failure of the individual. Therefore, Skinner's theory suggests that all people will learn if the right program, or the appropriate environment for learning, is designed for them.

In addition to these philosophical and psychological theories, judicial decisions and legislative actions express our attempts to implement and encourage the development of every individual's full potential through quality and equality in education. In the civil rights movement and in continuing efforts to achieve integration in the schools, in affirmative action, in bilingual and multicultural education efforts to achieve quality education recognizing human variability can be seen. Also significant are instances of legislation such as PL 94-142 (The Federal "Bill of Rights" for the Handicapped), Chapter 766 (the Massachusetts state law on which PL 94-142 is based, mandating for every student the right to an education in the "least restrictive environment"), and the Adult Education and Lifelong Learning Act (reaching out to an adult population and thus an age-extended conception of community education). We recognize, support and, indeed, encourage human variability in the plurality of student populations. Concurrently, we must recognize the need for varied learning contexts, or environments, to suit this pluralism. Educational alternatives, therefore, are imperative, whether they be in schools, in the homes, in the community or in a collaborative and cooperative network of learning environments drawing on the combined resources of home, school and community.

Quality education contains ingredients that go beyond the academic aspects of schooling (Fantini, 1980b). An essential ingredient of quality education is the emphasis on developing the individual's sense of controlling his or her own destiny. This includes empowering the individual to develop a unique and independent personality and instilling in this individual a sense of disciplined caring. Because of our society's highly pluralistic nature, there might be agreement on these ends, but there is strong disagreement as to the most effective and appropriate means of achieving these ends. This difference concerning the means of education occasions the ~~major~~ need for community involvement in the schools.

The recognition of pluralism replaces the previous orientation towards

standardization in education, which reflected -- as well as helped to shape -- our society's needs. Over the years, accepted educative contexts in our society have evolved from the informal one-room schoolhouse to the huge and complex institutions of today. Ironically, there is now interest exhibited by parents, students, and professional educators to incorporate some of the attributes of this earlier system -- the flexibility, the small scale intimacy and the individual attention -- into the massive and formalized structure of school systems today. The trend towards standardization in our nation's schools came about due to a variety of factors. The shift from a rural-based agricultural society to a heavily industrialized urban economy had a strong effect on the schools -- and on the expectations and demands placed on the schools. Another factor, which affected the educational system as well as the economy of the country, was the great number of immigrants flooding into the United States from European countries in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The schools were assigned the task of incorporating the children of these ethnically diverse groups into the mainstream of American society. Equally as important to society's needs, the schools assumed the task of training children of highly diverse backgrounds (and abilities) with the skills they needed to successfully enter and compete in the open marketplace of American capitalism. The school system, as an institution, transmitted the mainstream culture by reflecting the standards of mainstream society and attempting to indoctrinate the children of minority groups, as well as children of the mainstream culture, with those accepted standards, attitudes and beliefs. Simultaneously, the schools attempted to train children in occupational skills according to the manpower needs of society.

With these efforts to socialize students through the school came the development of a classification system within the school. Summed up simply, the schools assumed the task of deciding who to educate for what occupation and career. Standardized tests were devised and administered to measure intelligence, special aptitudes, specific skills and specialized talents. Students were classified, stratified, and labeled. Those who fit the accepted standards were "normal" and those who did not -- for whatever reasons -- were judged "abnormal." In the classroom, students were classified as "winners" or "losers," depending on their adjustment to the standardized

approach to education. When this normative approach to psychology was gradually superceded by more humanistically oriented psychological theories, the emphasis on standardized education declined and the "winners-losers" classification of students faded with it -- although we are still dealing with the aftereffects of these classifications in the classroom.

It is clear that our altering views of the learner and learning are not only rooted in advances in our knowledge base but are tied to the cultural transformation of the society itself. The evolution from an agrarian to post-industrial socioeconomic system has basically changed the needs, wants, and aspirations of the nation. These societal rearrangements necessitate major realignments of the mainstream institutions whose mission is to respond to the changing nature of American life. The schools are one such institution which has continued to experience the strains which accompany the press for modernization (Fantini, 1975).

The goal of an educative society, acknowledged above all else, is to create and support positive environments for individuals. Attempts to achieve this goal are far too crucial to be left to chance; efforts to implement this end cannot favor one group over another or support one style to fit the individual's highly varied needs, abilities, aspirations and interests. Thus, a true variety of alternatives in education must be established and furthermore, the legitimacy of these educative options must be duly recognized and fully accepted. The effort to plan and provide these diverse educative options must be a cooperative effort involving a variety of school and community agencies and incorporating all available school and community resources. However, one agency must be accountable, that is, responsible for the welfare of the individual.

The issue of public accountability, therefore, is tied politically to this need updating our educational agencies. The current trends in education, and in the larger society, serve to increase its impact. At one time, the family was the primary unit of education in America. The ultimate responsibility for the child rested with the family. Parents supervised the intellectual, spiritual and vocational development of their children, as they saw fit. Parents taught their own children as best they could, or else they turned their children's formal education directly over to the teacher at the local school. As society changed, however, the family increasingly delegated its supervisory role to the schools. At the same time, traditional

patterns and processes of socialization -- involving the family, the neighborhood, the church, the workplace -- fell apart. A host of social changes placed dramatically increased demands on the institution known as the school. The school, in turn, became burdened with increasing responsibilities and, as such, became responsible for socializing a "nation of immigrants," responsible for vocational training enabling youth to meet society's manpower needs, and responsible for instilling in students the "3 Rs." In addition, with the increasing technological complexity of society, the schools were forced, in the absence of any other effective agency, to assume responsibility for a plethora of new literacies: aesthetic, legal, electronic (computer), economic, political, nutritional, sexual, and other specialized but necessary skills going far beyond the province of the traditional "3 Rs." To meet this overwhelming challenge, the schools devised a system of add-ons, tinkering with the "extracurricular" aspects of the school program instead of attempting a major reform effort redefining the very nature of "curriculum" and "classroom." While this makeshift approach was understandable and undeniably well-intentioned, the increasing symptoms of obsolescence of the system -- declining student achievement, increasing drop-outs and truancy, violence and vandalism in the schools, on-the-job stress and teacher burn-out, the rapid rate of turnover in academic administrators' jobs -- indicate that major reform is imperative.

There is increasing recognition that too much responsibility has been assigned to the school. The pendulum is now swinging towards cooperative efforts in education, and away from assigning increased social -- and total educative -- responsibility to the school. These cooperative efforts must involve increased community control and increased parental involvement in the process of education. Drawing on the available resources of parents, school and community, these collaborations entail shared educative responsibilities.

LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

A learning environment, whether it be in the home, the school or in the community, is any set of human, material, and temporal resources which promotes learning. It can be a positive and supportive environment if quality education is being provided by enabling the individual to learn and grow and develop specialized skills -- traditional academic skills, for example, or more specialized skills, such as computer programming or a foreign language,

or even skills such as interpersonal relations. A learning environment that promotes growth toward achieving a fuller positive potential, for the individual or for the group, can be called an educative environment. The truly educative community is produced when all of these learning environments are linked together and carefully coordinated to serve the developmental needs of each person -- geared, that is, towards delivering quality education to each person. However, a learning environment can also be miseducative when it fails to encourage positive human development. In a non-formal learning context, there is miseducation in any environment which encourages or tolerates forms of prejudice -- racism, sexism, ageism, etc. -- or allows any form of illiteracy to flourish -- whether it be academic, social, sexual, nutritional, and so on. One example of a miseducative environment might be a workplace dominated by an atmosphere of intense competition with an inhumane exploitation of workers' concerns. Another all too prevalent example of miseducation can be seen in the wealth of inaccurate information about sex that children and young adults receive from their peers. In a formal setting, a classroom dominated by anxiety about grades instead of concern for learning is another kind of miseducative environment. To avoid such miseducative environments, positive learning environments must be organized, nurtured and arranged. Learning environments -- the term "curricula" has been deliberately avoided -- can legitimately take many forms. Indeed, learning environments must legitimately take diverse forms, to suite the pluralism of student populations. A learning environment may be a physical or a social environment. It may entail a formal or non-formal setting. It may rely on direct individual interaction and experience or may rest on the use of elaborate technology such as video discs, tape cassettes or computers. Of course, a variety of teaching styles are also involved in the structure of learning environments, from student directed projects to intensive dialogue between student and teacher to the authoritative and informative lecture.

In developing a general model for the educative community, the purpose must therefore be to further community-school cooperation and thus to improve the quality of educational services available to each and every learner. The criteria for such a model must begin with a comprehensive view of the learners. Cooperative planning, with the active involvement of all agents, is a second necessity. Flexibility within the program and a wide choice of programs are essential. Patterns for this will vary from one community to another, and

from one individual to another. In establishing a program, a general (school-home-community) agreement as to the necessary competencies must be established. A genuine variety of alternative patterns, programs and options must be developed, and the undeniable legitimacy of these alternatives must be recognized and accepted without question by all participating agents. While the legitimacy of learning alternatives is accepted, the necessity of continuous evaluation of the program must also be recognized as a necessity. A valuable characteristic of cooperative efforts towards community education is that cooperative efforts allow for the improvement and expansion of educational services. The school, as an overburdened and beleaguered institution, is relieved of the total responsibility for educating children and adolescents (and adults). Community resources are fully utilized and the unnecessary (and costly) duplication of services is avoided. In a time of fiscal retrenchment, this latter consideration is especially valuable.

Three models of school and community cooperation which place primary responsibility for learning in different locations along the parent-community-school axis arise. In one, parents assume responsibility for coordinating the educative environments of their children. In the second, professional educators and advisors, operating within the schools, assume a major role. And lastly, both agents share cooperatively in the responsibility. In all instances, however, agreement between the parents and the school is essential.

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATIVE ENVIRONMENTS

Thus, in one model, the parents assume the primary responsibility, drawing on the resources and the professional expertise of the schools and the various available community agencies. The student's role here is that of the educational consumer. The younger the child, of course, the greater the parents' role must be and the more carefully drawn the lines of the child's own decisions and responsibilities. Older students -- and to some extent, younger students guided by their own individual abilities and needs in appropriately defined and coordinated situations -- can devise their own programs under this type of plan, choosing not only what they learn, but where and when and how they wish to learn. (In effect, the child designs and defines his or her own learning environments.)

Home Education

One example of the trend towards parents' assumption of increased -- and increasingly active and direct -- responsibility for their children's education is the growing phenomenon of home education. In a recent book exploring this phenomenon, John Holt opens the first chapter of Teach Your Own: A Hopeful Path For Education (1981) by asking the basic question about home education:

Why do people take or keep their children out of school? Mostly for three reasons: they think that raising their children is their own business not the government's; they enjoy being with their children and watching and helping them learn, and don't want to give that up to others; they want to keep them from being hurt, mentally, physically, and spiritually. (p. 13)

In the subsequent chapters, Holt goes on to examine a number of the issues surrounding the still new, and admittedly controversial, practice of home education -- the reasons for and against home education, various strategies and philosophies of home educators across the country, and the politics and legality of home education. He cites the experiences of a number of parents and children who have embarked on the educative adventure of home schooling. One of the consistent themes that emerges in the case histories and examples selected by Holt is parental insistence on assuming the responsibility of home education for their children as a right. As Holt says:

Many people are choosing to have children as few people before ever did. They don't have children just because that is what married people are supposed to do. Or because they don't know how not to have them. On the contrary...they undertake the heavy responsibility of having and bringing up children because they deeply want to spend a part of their life living with them. Having chosen to have children, they feel very strongly that it is their responsibility to help these children grow into good, smart, capable, loving, trustworthy and responsible human beings. They do not think it right to turn that responsibility over to institutions, state or private, schools or otherwise... (p. 22).

Holt sums up this view of parents' assuming direct and primary responsibility for shaping their children's educative environments as both old-fashioned and ultra-modern. It harks back to the times before the development of a system of public education and before the delegation of various social, civic, vocational and psychological responsibilities to the schools and the "professionals." Simultaneously, it looks ahead, progressively, to a time of

increased diversity, increased individualization and heightened accountability within a system of community education. Holt quotes several people -- the wife of a career officer in the U.S. Navy, a Muslim mother living in this country and a retired physician. Perhaps the words of the physician (Dr. Frank Merrill of Riverton, Utah) are most revealing in their eloquence:

I have come not to feel any obligation to account, with reference to the birthing, the rearing, and the training of my children to any agency other than my God, who authorized their inception to begin with, especially and in particular not to those, be they public administrators, "highly educated," or otherwise... (p. 23).

While in many of the parents Holt quotes there is a strong flavor of defiant independence of official institutions -- school institutions or other institutions -- mingled with a desire for a direct role in their children's education, the plain realities of our contemporary situation is that outside agencies often are involved in home education efforts. There is no way of knowing how many children are "hidden away" from official notice in home schooling arrangements; what is known, however, is that increasing numbers of people, from all areas of the country and from all walks of life, are choosing to go through the official channels of school boards and court systems to make arrangements for home education. In some states, parents must submit detailed plans, or even entire curricula, for approval. In others, children must be evaluated, or even tested by the schools, to monitor their progress. Depending on the character of the school district as well as the laws of the individual state, the arrangements, stipulations and demands concerning home education varies considerably. More and more we see the ideal of joint responsibility for children's education emerging, with the school and the community playing some role determined and directed by the parents. In a case in Massachusetts, the duty of the schools and the right of the parents were defined as follows by Justice John M. Gearney (1978):

I conclude that although it is the right and duty of the superintendent or the School Committee to inquire into, and either approve or disapprove home education plans, the parents' constitutional right to decide how their own children shall be educated places reasonable limitations on that inquiry and thus circumscribes the discretion of the local authorities (p. 6).

Vouchers

The voucher plan -- which is also called the "family choice" plan by some of its proponents -- is another development in which the ultimate

decisionmaking power rests with the parents and the children, that is, with the educational consumers. Early in the 1970's, the idea of educational vouchers was first introduced and hotly debated as a means of offering increased educational choice to students and as a means of granting parents greater control over their children's education. With a voucher worth whatever the local school district spent to educate each child, parents could "shop around" their school district and select the educative environment they wished for their children. As it was originally envisioned, the voucher system would encompass both public and private institutions and range over an extended geographical area. Broadly defined, such a plan could incorporate diverse educational philosophies and services and could coordinate a variety of plans and programs from a network of community agencies. The voucher plan was advocated as a method of effectively desegregating the schools and making diverse forms of quality education available to all children, especially to poor, disadvantaged, handicapped or gifted children, whose needs might well not be met by the standard offerings of the local neighborhood school. Ironically, one of the most emotionally-charged arguments against the voucher plan was the fear that its implementation would result in "...racial polarization and the buttressing of non-public schools with public funds..." (New York Teacher, 1973).

Confronted with such vigorous resistance, the voucher plan has not really succeeded in taking root. While millions of Federal dollars have been offered as inducement for school districts to experiment with the voucher plan, there have been very few attempts to actually implement a family choice system. The state of Michigan voted down a proposal for the educational voucher plan. More recently, an Initiative for Family Choice in Education failed to receive enough signatures to be placed on the ballot in the state of California and in the 1979-80 Regular Session of the State Senate in New York, an act to amend the education law in relation to establishing a voucher program was voted down. Of those voucher plans that were implemented, only one -- the Alum Rock Union Elementary School District Plan (in California) -- was of any extensive duration. While it was generally judged a success, it was limited in scope from the start.

The Alum Rock plan began with some politically wise compromises, including only the public schools in the district and offering the teachers guarantees of job security plus enrollment limitations in the more popular programs.

The elementary school district involved students in kindergarten through eighth grade in a series of 50 mini-schools, which replaced more than half of the previously traditional schools in the district. In the four years of its duration, this experiment with family choice revealed no evidence of racial isolation. Surprisingly, teachers, not parents, seemed to gain the most in terms of influence and control in the schools. This is a clear note of irony, since teachers' unions have consistently fought long and hard against the implementation of voucher plans on the grounds of increased accountability and decreased job security that the plan would create for the teaching profession. As John E. Coons and Stephen D. Sugarman (1978, p. 173) -- the two men who formulated the California Initiative for Family Choice Education -- point out, any program causing increased accountability to parents and creating job jeopardy for teachers is likely to be opposed by the teachers' unions. In its social implications and possible effects on teachers' jobs, the voucher plan is quite a challenge to the traditional school structure. Despite this history of severe resistance to vouchers in the field of education, some experts still predict the plan may yet come into its own. It is far more likely, however, that the concept of tuition tax credits will soon be receiving legislative attention while simultaneously provoking popular support and public opposition. Under this plan, educational expenses such as tuition can be considered tax credits -- like business expenses or, more recently, energy conservation measures. There is no intention here to analyze the proposal on economic as well as educational grounds -- the idea is controversial -- but merely to cite the idea as an instance of parents seeking to assume directive responsibility and power in the processes of education.

SCHOOL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATIVE ENVIRONMENTS

A second model of cooperation between the school and the community entails the school as the primary unit of responsibility. In this case, it is the parents and the community that must serve as resources to enrich the school program and educative environments. The school sets up the options and then gives the parents their choice. This can encompass roles far more extensive than involvement in PTA's and PTO's, however active and valuable such parent-teacher organizations have proven to be over the years. Parents can be involved in the governance of the schools and in the labor of the

schools -- that is, in teaching or tutoring (Fantini, 1980).

When the primary responsibility rests with the school, it is imperative that the schools provide a variety of programs and choices for the educational consumers they service. If there is no variety and choice for the students, the school immediately fails to meet its responsibility since it cannot offer quality education to all students with a limited and standardized program that is suitable only for some students. The provision of alternatives, realistically, depends on a full utilization of community resources, since the school, as a single institution, cannot be expected to fulfill each and every need of each and every individual. The rising demand for choice in school programs is documented by both the expansion of private sector education and development, within the public school system, of fully accredited alternative school programs (Fantini, 1976). Experimentation and exploration into alternatives in the public schools seems to have declined somewhat from the heyday of the early 1970's, constrained, no doubt, by the mistakes made and the lessons learned as much as by the rising tide of conservatism and the increasing fiscal restraints. However, an increasing number of public school alternatives still exist.* Public school systems across the country still offer students the choice of subject matter and learning style: there are active schools-within-schools and schools-without-walls; there are flourishing examples of mini-schools, magnet schools and multi-cultural schools; there are internships, apprenticeships, and on-the-job training programs. The magnet school options currently operating in the city of Lowell, Massachusetts, form only one example of many.** Perhaps the public schools are offering a genuinely wider range of alternative learning experiences today than in the initial flurry of interest in the 1960's. Actually, a scant handful of "alternative" public schools existed in the 1960's. Over the past two decades, however, the number of public alternative programs and schools has increased and the basic concept of acceptable alternative forms of education has expanded significantly. Today, there are

* See Anne Flaxman and Kerry Homstead (eds.), 1977-78 National Directory of Public Alternative Schools (Amherst, Massachusetts: National Alternative Schools Program, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, 1978).

** For a case study description, see Normal Benson, et al., It's Your Choice: Magnet School Options for the City of Lowell (Massachusetts), May 1980.

literally thousands of public alternative schools successfully operating across the country. As a recent issue of Phi Delta Kappan (1981) indicates, the issue of alternative schools and the implementation of educational choice is still very much with us.

Alternatives in the Public Schools

A trend towards utilizing the resources of the community in the educational system coincides with this development of alternatives in the public schools (and a trend towards the expansion of the private sector in education). The Community Schools and Comprehensive Community Education Act of 1978 (which added several new titles to the Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965) recognizes the potential of the public school system to evolve into a network of community-wide educational resources. Recognizing the school as the primary institution for the delivery of human services in the community, the Act states:

As the primary educational institution of the community the school is most effective when it involves the people of that community in a program to fulfill the educational needs of individuals of the community (Public Law 95-561, Sections 801-815).

The multiple purpose of the title is to provide for collaborative school-community programs to coordinate social services, to provide for an efficient use of the school's facilities, to indicate avenues for research and development emphasizing community education and to serve as an informed basis for educational policy as it is formulated on the Federal, the state and local levels. The schools frequently draw on the experience and expertise of community members in local health care institutions, museums and galleries, business agencies, civic organizations, etc. (Fantini, Loughran and Reed, 1980). In this view, the "school" is defined as the central institution on which the students rely for specialized experience and training (as well as a "basic" education), and from which working professionals offer students the benefit of their own on-the-job expertise. This concept of the community as an educational resource can be even further expanded, defining the entire community as a potential educational system open to those students whose personal desires and educational needs impel them to look outside of the traditional school structure. In short, the entire community can be redefined as an educative environment wherever the school is part of this expanded educative environment.

SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATIVE ENVIRONMENTS

This trend of expanding the educative environment moves us definitely towards a third model of parent-school-community cooperation in which the parents and the schools stand as co-equal partners. Based on the establishment of mutual agreement between parents and schools, both partners equally share in fulfilling responsibilities and in identifying, coordinating and implementing resources. Developments in the field of special education can be seen as pioneering efforts in this type of collaboration. The passage and implementation of PL 94-142 establishes a framework guaranteeing the handicapped child the right to an individual education. The new and highly significant terminology of the law refers to the "least restrictive environment" for the child's education. This has been interpreted to mean, necessarily, tailoring educational programs to the individual child based on a collaboration of home interests, school expertise, and community resources. In Massachusetts, State Law Chapter 766 establishes a similarly significant mandate: learners with recognizable and diagnosed special needs are entitled to an individual educational program at the state's expense (that is, as part of the public educational system, if not as part of the local public schools). In the process of establishing the individual education plan for each special needs student, a recognized and accepted sequence of steps is involved. First of all, there is a screening process to diagnose and identify special needs. Following this, teachers, specialists and parents develop a comprehensive program for the child. The implementation of the program, wherever possible, proceeds through the agency of the school. Regular evaluation of the program and the learner's progress are essential, allowing for immediate feedback and continuous adjustment concerning the individual educational plan. This process includes collaboration among various sectors of the community -- the child's parents at home, the child's teachers in the school and professional advisors, counselors and specialists in the community.

Characteristics of the individual education plan, as devised for students with special needs, could apply to educational plans for all students. In its comprehensive approach, the individual education plan attempts to utilize all of the available and applicable learning environments: peer groups, physicians, parents, siblings, recreational facilities, the cultural community, etc. There is, furthermore, a crucial collaboration among

these different learning environments. As a cooperative effort, the network of potential learning environments is adjusted and attuned for the student's individual differences to form the "least restrictive environment." A process of continuous and cooperative evaluation is built into the plan, to provide frequent feedback on which necessary corrections, changes and adjustments of the plan can be based.

Another example of the parents and the schools operating as co-equal partners can be seen in the development of sex education programs in highly diverse communities across the country. As highly controversial as it often is, sex education makes an informative case in point. Given the realities of our society today and our responsibility to educate and inform our children so that they grow into competent, literate and independent adults, the only choice parents do not have in the case of sex education is the option of no choice. In a letter to the Editor of the New York Times (1981), Mary S. Calderone, president of the Sex Information and Educational Council of the United States (SIECUS) makes the following points concerning parents' rights and responsibilities vis-a-vis the sex education of their own children:

The very people who oppose sex education in the school are the ones who in actuality should be making the programs unnecessary by doing the job themselves -- the parents.

Parents overwhelmingly claim the "right" to do this, but we here at SIECUS do not look upon this as a right but as an obligation. It is the children who have the right to parents who will fulfill this obligation.

Therefore, SIECUS, which has not been related to school education programming for the past ten years but rather has worked in the area of training health and teaching professionals in the field, has been and is concentrating on developing techniques and programs that might help parents become the sex educators of their children that they want to be, that their children desperately need them to be but that they don't know how to be...

Recognizing full well the pluralism of our society, different parents will inevitably prefer to assign the task of sex education to different agencies in the community, that is, to different educative environments. Some parents, themselves properly trained and informed, may well prefer the home-based or parent-based approach. Others may wish to delegate the responsibility for sex education to the schools, the specially trained teachers (who may incorporate sex education into the larger curriculum, or who may devote an entire course to the subject) or the nurses or other health professionals working in the schools. The clergy and medical professionals

(independent of school nurses) may also be called upon in sex education. A fifth approach is a utilization of the peer group in sex education, with special attention to teaching and tutoring techniques and special emphasis on the strengths of peer counseling. (This is in contrast, of course, to the unfortunately more usual miseducation and misinformation concerning sex which occurs in the peer group. Such an approach relies all the more on careful, and fully accountable leadership from professional counselors or educators.)

COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATIVE ENVIRONMENTS

From these pioneering efforts in parent-community-school collaboration, a new role is emerging for educators and a new definition forming for education in our society. This could be considered to be an extension of the third model discussed above, or it could be a fourth model, identifying and incorporating the learning environments of the community. "Community" must here be defined as a network of learning resources and educative environments. This includes, of course, those agencies of our society and aspects of our culture mentioned before: the family (including parents, grandparents, siblings), peer group, neighborhood, religious institutions, media such as television, magazines and newspapers, the workplace, cultural resources, etc. In this complex of cooperative environments, the school itself becomes a resource. The school serves both as the primary coordinator of the educative community and as the chief agent of accountability. By offering special training projects and in-service programs to those other agents (i.e., "teachers") in the community, the schools can help them to improve and develop their own educative abilities. It therefore becomes the task of the professional educator to offer training and services to the different educative agencies and environments in the community. Functioning in the role of coordinator, the professional educator offers the individual legitimate options in education and guarantees the educative quality of those options, whether they take place primarily in the home, in the institution of the school, or in various settings out in the community. Thus, professional educators will play a crucial role enabling us to move from a school system to an educational system: establishing a network of truly educative environments in the community, orchestrating these programs to suit the needs,

aspirations and abilities of individual learners, and enabling the process of education to be directed towards developing the potential of every individual and towards creating a just, humane and caring society.

SUMMARY

With the transition from schooling to education, there is a corresponding move from a system of chance to a system of genuine choice for the learner. The concept of quality education itself shifts from a privilege available only for the few to a right that can be fulfilled for every learner; and the emphasis of education shifts as well from a group focus to an individual orientation. Testing as a basis for classification fostering competition in the classroom shifts to the use of testing as a diagnostic tool to be used by educators for prevention, if possible, rather than cure. The basic unit of the learning process moves from the self-contained classroom out into the educative environments of the entire community. In this major transition from a school system to an educational system, the role of the professional educator is transformed as well -- from teacher to advisor and facilitator, from instructor to coordinator and designer.

SECTION FIVE

PLANNING TO MAKE COLLABORATION A REALITY

Don Davies, President of the Institute for Responsive Education/National Commission on Resources for Youth, and Professor of Education, Boston University

The two-way street of good home-school relations is paved with the fine rhetoric of "involvement," "participation," "cooperation," "home-school partnership." But, there's not much traffic on that two-way street. That's a startling fact given the activities of the last decade. During the past ten years, during which the Institute for Responsive Education has been advocating and studying citizen participation in the schools, there has been a remarkable burgeoning of activities:

- Nearly every Federal education law from 1971 on has mandated some form of parent or citizen participation, the parent advisory council being the most commonly required mechanism (Davies, 1978).
- Three states -- California, Florida and South Carolina -- have mandated local advisory councils as part of a school finance reform package (Zerchykov, 1980).
- Several local districts (mostly large cities) have moved to establish school councils as part of school desegregation plans (e.g., Boston and Cleveland); as part of school improvement/school effectiveness projects (e.g., Cincinnati, St. Louis, New York City); or as part of a comprehensive effort to create a home-school partnership (e.g., Salt Lake City).
- The concept of "co-production" (parents and students contributing directly to student learning) attracted increased interest and projects built on the concept were developed in several cities (e.g., Houston, Philadelphia, Dallas) as a way to increase resources available for instruction, to build closer home-school ties and to shore up flagging community support for schools.*

* Descriptions of many projects in 24 large cities are included in The Home-School Connection: Selected Partnership Programs in Large Cities, by Carter H. Collins, Oliver Moles and Mary Cross. Boston: Institute for Responsive Education, 1982.

- National groups such as the National Committee for Citizens in Education (NCCE), and IRE, were created and have been strong advocates for the diverse forms of parent involvement in the schools.
- A large number of studies and evaluations have been done on the topic of citizen participation and many books, reports, and articles have appeared. There is an accumulation of experience, research, and analysis now available to those who are seeking to foster citizen participation.
- The large education interest groups showed evidence of more positive attitudes toward increased parent involvement in the schools and educator leaders spoke publicly about the need for schools to shore up their constituency support in a time of declining resources and adverse political climate.*

Yet, it appears to be true that most American public schools have little parent involvement despite these developments and activities. A recent 30-month nationwide study by the System Development Corporation (1981), under contract with the U.S. Department of Education, revealed a low level of parent involvement. Out of 57 districts chosen for on-site data gathering, the researchers reported substantial amounts of parental involvement in only 17 districts (about 28 percent). All of the 57 districts were involved in Federal education programs mandating parent involvement (Title I, Title VII, Follow Through, and the Emergency School Assistance Act). It was determined that only about a third of schools had any substantial amount of parent involvement.

Further confirmation of the low level of parent involvement is the dramatic decline in membership in the PTA over the past decade from an estimated 13 million to about 6 million. Also, a Gallup Poll (1979) reported that only 19 percent (one in five) of all community members attended any lecture, meeting or social occasion in any of their local schools during the year preceding the poll. Lack of interest is not an adequate explanation for these findings. In 1948, a Gallup Poll of urban school

* For example, most of the major education interest groups joined forces with a group of citizen advocacy and civil rights groups to form the National Coalition for Parent Involvement in Education (NCPIE). The groups included the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the National School Boards Association, the American Association of School Administrators, the National Association of Elementary School Principals, and the Chief State School Officers.

systems discovered that 26 percent of those responding (both parents and citizens) said they would be willing to volunteer in order to improve neighborhood schools. A Gallup-conducted study (1976) of parent and community attitudes toward the public schools reported that 90 percent of parents polled indicated that they would serve on an advisory committee if asked.

Why, then, is the traffic so light on the figurative two-way street? Why have the talk and efforts of the past decade produced so little real parent involvement or citizen participation? The studies of the Institute for Responsive Education lead us to two explanations. First, in most efforts to increase citizen participation there is a failure to plan systematically -- matching purposes, participants and methods. Second, in most efforts to increase citizen participation there is a failure to consider the implications of the characteristics of schools as organizations.

These two explanations suggest that there is a need for careful and systematic planning by officials who would foster citizen participation, planning that takes organizational realities into account and deliberately matches purposes, functions, participants and mechanisms. There is little evidence of such planning now.

The comments in these pages are addressed specifically to those who wish to foster increased citizen participation and are willing to think in new ways about the objective they seek, and plan, so that such participation will have satisfying results both to the participants and the schools. My comments assume positive motivations, honest intentions, and the competence needed to think about citizen participation and to plan systematically. The place to start is to think about citizen participation as a complex matching of participants, purposes, functions and methodologies.

THINKING ABOUT CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AS A COMPLEX MATCHING OF PARTICIPANTS, PURPOSES, FUNCTIONS AND METHODOLOGIES

In this section, the term "citizen participation" is used to denote a variety of concepts which are commonly referred to with variations of

the words "parent," "citizen," "community," "public," and "lay" combined with the words "participation" or "involvement." What are these concepts? Would that there were a simple, one sentence definition that one could take home, tack up on their wall, and settle the matter once and for all. But simple definitions -- even though some exist -- are not very useful when dealing with a complex concept that has many facets and means many different things to different people. To start to think in new ways about the meaning of citizen participation requires asking, and answering, four questions: who, what, why and how? Let's look at each question.

1. Who? Who are the parties to be involved? At the outset, it is important to recognize the diversity of individuals and groups whose participation is sought and who might or might not be included when those often slippery phrases "citizen participation" or "community involvement" are used. The parties of interest who might be involved in school improvement could include all of the following:

- Parents -- parents and guardians of children currently in the school system.
- Other residents of the neighborhood or area served by a school.
- Students.
- Out-of-school youth.
- Employees of the system (teachers, aides, administrators, support staff).
- Community interests -- these include community health, welfare, and justice agencies such as the community action agency; the police; the welfare department; the mental health council; organizations representing racial, ethnic, and religious groups; business, industry, and labor unions; advocacy groups, including those advocating the rights of children, women, and the handicapped and those concerned about issues such as environmental protection, creationism, or gun control; civic organizations such as the League of Women Voters or the Chamber of Commerce; taxpayers associations; and neighborhood or community development groups.
- Taxpayers and voters -- the general public which takes part in educational affairs by voting (or not voting) for school board members and other local and state representatives and in propositions, tax levies, or bond issues affecting education.

And, of course, within the category "parents" there are many important

sub-groups -- parents of children in a given class or a single school, parents whose children have a designated educational classification (e.g., handicapped, limited English speaking, gifted, low-income) or interest (e.g., the marching band, soccer, computers). The heterogeneity of all of the potential participants is obvious. Multiple, diverse, and often conflicting interests and motivations exist.

From the point of view of the planner, the point is to identify clearly the categories of persons whose involvement is to be sought, for what specified purpose, and to what desired function. Then a methodology suitable to the participants, the purpose, and the function can be selected.

The question "who participates?" should also lead the planner to clarify whether the parties at issue are to be involved as individuals or collectively through organizations. Examples of individual participation range from voting to attending school events to attending a discussion of an individual educational plan under P.L. 94-142. Collective participation likewise covers a wide range of forms from parent associations through school advisory councils and community interest groups.

The "who participates?" question should also be viewed from a demographic perspective. What is the age/sex/race or socioeconomic status of those whose participation is sought? IRE's studies, for example, reveal that school system designed participatory mechanisms have a "middle-class flavor" and often attract disproportionately well-educated, middle-class participants. These studies also show that middle-class citizen organizations have more access to decisionmakers and more influence on policies than organizations primarily composed of lower- or working-class people (Gittell, et. al., 1979). If the intent is to involve low-income or other previously excluded participants, adjustments may be required in methodologies.

Careful planning requires that solid answers be obtained to the questions: Who are the parties at interest? Who should be participating? Who actually participated and who did not? What are the purposes, functions and methodologies appropriate and possible for the categories of parties at interest? Decisions about who should or does participate are related to the functions that the participation is to serve.

2. What? What are the functions to be served by participation?

There are almost as many ways to categorize the functions of participation as there are researchers and writers on the subject, but there is widespread agreement that policymakers have a diversity of possible functions in mind when they call for citizen participation, to design a technically and politically workable plan that requires clarity about which functions are to be served. Political scientists Charles Windle and James Cibulka (1981) offer six categories of functions which will serve for purposes of this chapter to stimulate thinking about the concept of participation. These functions correspond to stages of the policy process and also help to answer the question of when participation is to take place. These functions are:

- Authorizing;
- Enabling;
- Planning;
- Governing;
- Service-giving; and
- Evaluating.

Authorizing means the legitimating of a policy through legal mandate, such as a law or resolution of a governing body or a public referendum. The authorizing function occurs at the time a public body is considering an official action. An example of citizen participation to serve this function would be a task force of high school parents, students, teachers and local university representatives named by the school board to develop recommendations for stiffer high school graduation requirements. Another example would be a committee of influential business and civic leaders and representatives formed by the superintendent to plan and implement a campaign for a referendum to authorize a school tax increase.

Enabling means the provision of resources (money, staff time, information, materials) for a program. Examples of citizen participation serving this function would be a parent association or local advisory group urging a school board to provide money to initiate or continue a school effectiveness project or a senior citizens association initiating a tutoring program.

Planning is the first stage of implementation at which purposes, needs,

activities, resources, schedules, responsibilities and indicators for evaluation are identified and agreed upon. Examples of citizen participation to serve this function would be a neighborhood association cooperating with the school staff to do a community resources inventory or parent/community agency representatives serving as members of a task force to conduct a needs assessment.

Governing as a function refers to making decisions about the provision and administration of educational programs and encompasses decisions about personnel, budget, and curriculum and facilities. An example would be a school site council establishing budget priorities for the school, approving a decision to devote increased school time and resources to reading instruction, or helping to select a new principal.

Service-giving is the function in which participants contribute directly to the processes of education. This function includes both the educative process, (as when parents help their own children with their homework) and supportive process (as when senior citizens help as volunteers in the school office, library, or lunchroom).

Evaluating is assessing the impact and results of a program and can include program monitoring and financial audits. Examples could include a task force of teachers, students, and local business leaders which is given the responsibility to assess a vocational education program, a parent association carrying out an evaluation of the administration and results of a homework-helper project, or a school site council evaluating the effectiveness of the principal.

For the purposes of the planning approach being proposed here, function denotes "intended consequences." Effective planners will keep the differences among functions to be served by participation in mind in thinking about participants, purposes to be served, and methodologies to be used.

3. Why? What are the purposes to be served by citizen participation? There are four broad purposes which citizen participation (with all of its varieties of participants, functions, and methodologies) can be expected to serve in public school systems. These are:

- To mobilize political support for the schools or for a particular school project or program.
- To provide resources (e.g., money, services, materials) for the educational program.
- To influence or legitimate decisionmaking.
- To benefit the individuals participating (e.g., civic training, learning saleable skills, companionship and social activities) or to increase their allegiance to the social system.

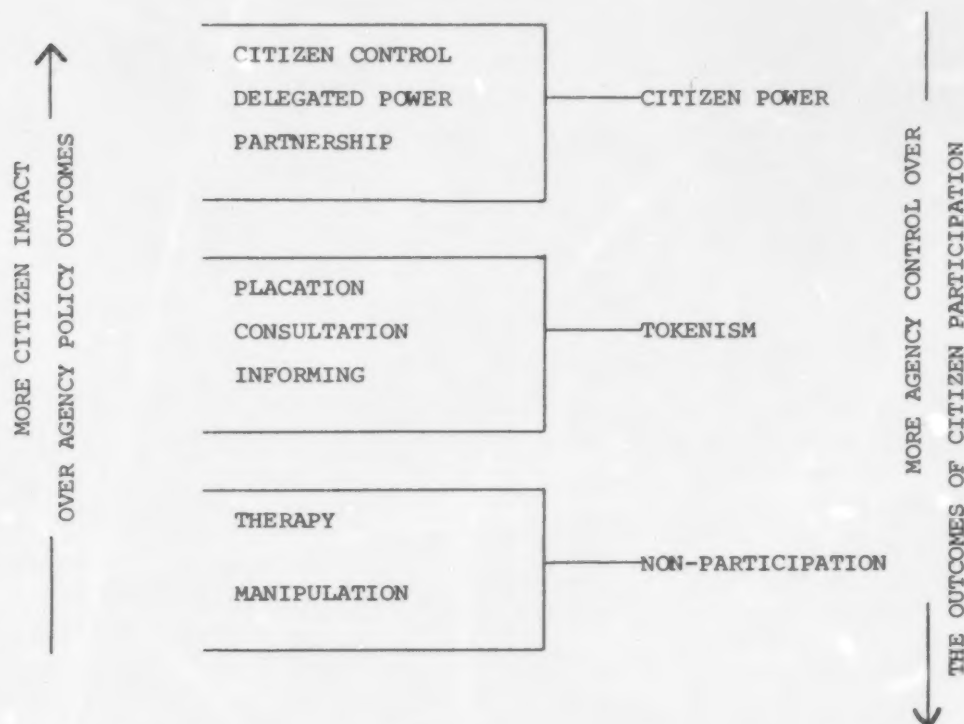
The evidence is clear that various forms of participation can contribute positively to achievement of each of these broad purposes. Similarly, various forms of participation can have negative results on any one of these purposes. For example, IRE's study (Zerchykov, et al., forthcoming) of responses to declining enrollment and resources on school districts has identified many examples of poorly-planned citizen participation efforts in school districts that have created rather than lessened conflict and produced further citizen alienation toward the schools.

Which of these purposes is to be considered important and legitimate in a particular system will depend on the political values of the decision-makers in the school system -- school board members and administrators. These political values will influence all aspects of the planning and the implementation of those plans. The starting point for considering the value issue is the question of the distribution of power between leaders and the citizenry and between professionals and those they serve.

The dominant view today as in the past can be called the "republican" view in which the citizenry delegates its power to elected representatives and appointed officials chosen to execute laws with a high degree of professional or managerial expertise. A minority of social scientists and observers (including this author) have a participatory view and value highly opportunities for the citizenry to influence directly the affairs of governments and institutions and for a broad sharing of power between the governors and the governed. The same value differences which separate these two views can also be seen in sharply differing views about the sharing of power between professionals and the public in fields such as education. The dominant view today is that the complexity of technical knowledge requires highly trained professionals to make decisions in the

best interest of their clients and the public at large. Another perspective values professional expertise but not at the expense of the public's prerogatives of determining policies to govern professional service and holding professionals accountable to those they serve.

Yet another way of looking at the power dimension is provided by Sherry Arnstein's (1979) "Ladder of Participation." Arnstein sees citizen participation public agency affairs on a continuum of agency purposes.



The Arnstein framework can provide a useful checkpoint as planners proceed to answer questions about who should participate in what functions, and for what purposes? The typology is especially applicable in relation to functions of planning, governing, and evaluating.

The "Why?" question has been viewed, so far, above, from three vantage points: the intended purposes of policymakers and planners (the purposes cited on p.64); the political values of policymakers (the degrees of citizen influence on public officials desired); and the consequences of the mechanism as they operate, for citizens in particular (placation,

information, delegated authority and the other "rungs" of Arnstein's ladder). In a fuller discussion (particularly one that was aimed at citizen audiences in addition to planners), it would be important also to explore the "why?" question in terms of the intentions of citizen participants, which can be, as Robert H. Salisbury (1981) has so usefully pointed out, either instrumental or expressive.

Instrumental, or what Salisbury calls "policy-purposive" (p. 4) participation, is undertaken as a means through which to impact upon policy outcomes. Arnstein's ladder deals with this aspect of participation; at the lower rung of the ladder there is less impact on policy outcomes. Salisbury reminds us, however, that participation can also be undertaken as an end, in and of itself, as an outlet for exercising personal growth and, especially in school settings, as a way of expressing civic duty and even parental love. Salisbury writes:

Apart from the purposive desire for changes in educational policy that may evoke parental involvement, parents often feel that by becoming active they show to their children a visible sign of their love and concern...[And] school participation is frequently, perhaps mostly, supportive activity rather than purposive (pp. 7-8).

These "supportive participants" have no desire to climb up the Arnstein ladder and for them, "school administrators have encouraged and often actually assembled the organizational mechanisms for participation" (on page 8, Salisbury cites "fairs and bake sales," serving as "teacher aides" or "driv[ing] for field trips" as typical supportive participation).

The point of this brief excursion into the "why?" question is that organizational mechanisms which satisfy "supportive"-expressive participants will only serve to further alienate instrumental-"policy-purposive" participants for whom those same opportunities are seen, in Arnstein's terms, as instances of placation and tokenism.

4. How? What techniques and methods are available to foster citizen participation? Once planners have clarified answers to questions of who should participate in what functions and for what purposes, it is appropriate to consider the question of methods. Too often the methodology question precedes or ignores the other questions and the result

is a mechanism such as an advisory committee floating quite free of real functions or clear purposes or having the wrong participants undertaking unclear tasks at the wrong stage of the policy process.

At the outset, the "how?" question can be viewed as a technical one by planners. Studies have identified many methods and mechanisms which have been tried. A comprehensive listing of techniques arrayed against 14 selected functions can be found in Citizen Participation in America, edited by Stuart Langton (1977).

IRE's work has identified a wide range of methods currently employed for citizen participation in the schools. In summary, these are as follows:

- Parent associations (e.g., PTA's, PTO's, Booster Clubs, Home and School Associations. Parent associations represent by far the largest and most pervasive form of parent involvement in the schools.)
- Individual parent consultation (e.g., parent-teacher conferences, mandated consultation such as in P.L. 94-142, Dial-A-Teacher projects).
- Individual service projects (e.g., Room Mothers, projects to involve parents with home instruction of their own children, school volunteer projects in tutoring or assisting).
- Individual learning contracts (home-school agreements on learning objectives and teacher-family responsibilities).
- Back-to-school nights, school open house, class visits.
- Parent resource rooms in schools or in teacher centers.
- Parent training workshops and courses.
- Student participation in community organizations and agencies.
- Mandated parent advisory councils for categorical programs (e.g., Title I, Bilingual Education, Follow Through, Teacher Corps, Emergency School Assistance Act). An estimated 30,000 of such PAC's exist at present with between 400,000 and 600,000 members. Changes in Federal education laws will eliminate most of the Federal mandates.
- School advisory committees, councils, policy boards, existing at both districtwide and school site levels. They are mandated in some districts (e.g., Salt Lake City, Chicago). They were created by state legislation in California, Florida and South Carolina. School councils are often formed as part of school effectiveness or desegregation projects.

- Planning and information gathering techniques; charettes, citizen surveys, media-based issue balloting, Delphi projects.
- Temporary task forces and committees organized at school or district levels.
- Public hearings.
- Citizen action research (citizens plan and carry out studies on issues they identify).
- Community education and adult education programs.
- Open collective bargaining sessions or community representation at collective bargaining tables.
- Citizen involvement in arbitration or mediation.
- Public opinion polling.
- Citizen referenda on school issues.
- Citizen participation on search committees for school superintendents and administrator positions.
- Ombudsman projects, to deal with grievances.
- Telephone hotlines for information for parents.
- Citizen-initiated organizations which deal with school issues (e.g., Leagues of Women Voters, taxpayers associations, neighborhood associations, civic groups, and advocacy groups).

Even such a long cafeteria listing is surely not complete, yet it suggests the enormous range of methodologies that are available to planners of citizen participation activities.

What is often missing from school district efforts to foster citizen participation is systematic and effective planning which requires both technical and political skills on the part of agency personnel. Effective planning for citizen participation requires a careful matching of participants, functions, intended purposes, and methodologies. It is important to note that since the participation is the aim, that a participatory planning process would be much more likely to have beneficial results than a good planning process conducted unilaterally by a small number of technically competent professionals. Common sense and good politics suggests that the parties affected by the plan and those who must be involved in implementation should be involved in planning for participation.

The four part model of planning for citizen participation is reflected in the planning chart on the following page, which can be used as a tool by planners.

If further persuasion is needed for planners to consider the importance of careful planning that matches structure and function, and purpose and methodology, findings of IRE's study of declining resources (Zerchykov, et al., forthcoming) in school districts can be cited. Literature searches and surveys in this study have uncovered several examples of mismatching which undermines the school district's intent. For example, school managers initiate participation in order to mobilize political support for closing schools, but they set up a structure such as a task force which is designed to provide service to the school district (e.g., do the district's homework of gathering data). The participants attracted to the activity see serving on the task force as an opportunity to be represented -- of having a say on final policy decisions. But, the mechanism is designed to "do homework" and not directly impact final decisions. The resulting conflict between the purpose (to mobilize political support) and the function actually served (providing service or resources to the district) destroys the usefulness of the mechanism, often producing conflict and alienation on the part of participants, and frustration on the part of the professionals about how messy and ineffective "citizen participation" is.

THINKING ABOUT CITIZEN PARTICIPATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

The second framework for planners seeking to foster increased citizen participation is the realities of schools as organizations. Good planning for citizen participation will be implemented in a real organizational setting. The characteristics of schools as organizations will shape all aspects of such implementation.

Schools exhibit certain characteristics just because they are organizations. Four of these characteristics are especially relevant to this discussion:

- Organizations perform their functions through routines or standard operating procedures which make possible regular and coordinated activity but do not make it easy to respond

PLANNING FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: A FOUR PART MODEL

WHY? (PURPOSE)	WHO? (PARTICIPANTS)	WHAT? (FUNCTIONS)	HOW? (METHODS-ACTIVITIES)	INDICATORS OF ACHIEVEMENT
1. To mobilize political support				
2. To provide resources				
3. To influence or legitimate decisionmaking				
4. To provide benefits to the individuals participating				

to crises or changing external demands (such as, for example, required citizen participation mechanisms).

- Organizations avoid uncertainty and seek regularized internal and external relationships.
- Organizational procedures and repertoires of activities usually change only incrementally and new activities typically consist of marginal adaptations of existing programs and activities.
- Organizations will usually allow only a limited search for alternative solutions to problems and generally will choose a course of action that "will do" rather than one which might seem to be optimum but would require higher risk or more change in standard operating procedures. This is the organizational principle of "satisficing."*

In addition to these general characteristics of all organizations, schools exhibit some rather special characteristics. Some of these special characteristics salient to this discussion of introducing forms of citizen participation in the schools are these:

- The goals of schools as organizations are diffused, multi-faceted and subject to widely varied interpretations (as contrasted to the post office whose goal is to deliver mail or a manufacturing firm whose goal is to maximize profit).
- The "technology" of achieving goals is fragmented with responsibilities divided among administrators, counselors, classroom teachers, teaching specialists, families, and the students themselves and the connections between a particular activity and a particular desired goal are often uncertain.
- The informal norms of school organizations are particularly powerful. The norms and specialized language of teachers as a profession are buttressed by their training and by their professional associations and unions. One such norm is "professional autonomy" in decisionmaking.**
- The formal structure of schools is unique. The various

* This summary is based on Graham T. Allison, Essence of Decision. Boston: Little Brown, 1971.

** A more detailed development of an organizational model for viewing citizen participation is available in Narrowing the Gap Between Intent and Practice: A Report to Policymakers on Community Organizations and School Decisionmaking, by Kathleen Huguenin, Ross Zerchykov and Don Davies. Boston: Institute for Responsive Education, 1979.

levels of decisionmaking activity -- Federal, state, county, district, school, and classroom -- operate relatively independent of one another with limited coordination and control. As many have pointed out, schools are loosely coupled organizations. This means that mandates from one level to another are never self-enforcing.

If one is to think about these organizational realities -- both those that apply to all organizations and those that are special to schools -- it is clear that the introduction of almost any form of citizen participation will be difficult. Take a school advisory committee as an example. Such an intervention requires a major deviation from standard operating procedures and introduces a strong element of risk into the organization. The regular flow of decisionmaking is interrupted and there is a risk that the committee will achieve too much power or create conflict. The activity is well beyond the current repertoire of school activities -- with neither teachers nor administrators accustomed or trained for it. The introduction of an advisory committee which includes parents or other community residents is a threat to professional autonomy. How the committee will fit into the loosely coupled organization of the schools, if at all, is usually unclear.

If one thinks about the organizational realities it is easy to understand why it has been so difficult to introduce nearly any form of citizen participation in the schools. This organizational framework offers an explanation of the resistance of schools to citizen participation or the ineffectiveness of so many participatory efforts that is far more satisfactory than the usual theories that hold that educators are incompetent, undemocratic, or mean-spirited or that parents are apathetic or selfish and do not want to participate anyway.

The main point here is that if planning for citizen participation is to work, the organizational realities must be kept in mind at every step. And, yet, they seldom are. Time after time, policymakers and school administrators and citizen group leaders ignore these basic facts of life. Time after time the results are predictable failure and frustrating to all concerned -- policymakers, educators and citizens.

It is important to say here that directed change in organizations is possible if the planning is good, both technically and politically. Good

technical planning will target those factors which are needed to support changes in routines, and norms -- changes, for example, in personnel policies, reward systems, budgets, and information access. Good political planning will recognize that conflicting interests are present and that those seeking change will have to amass sufficient power to bring to the process of bargaining and negotiation which should precede the implementation of any plan.

Being aware of organizational realities in planning for citizen participation means to not have inflated expectations about the speed with which new forms of citizen participation can be implemented or the scope and significance of the impact of these new forms. Having realistic expectations does not mean being immobilized or failing to act to seek to increase citizen participation. IRE's studies point to three considerations of special importance to planners:*

1. School Board Support: Because the school board is in a critical position in the loosely-coupled governance structure of the schools, their formal support of whatever citizen participation functions and methodologies are adopted is essential. For example, IRE studies (e.g., Huguenin, 1979) have shown there is often no formal connection and little or no communication between school boards and advisory councils. Many school boards see themselves as the primary, sometimes exclusive, citizen participants, and are slow to admit other actors. For a plan to be implemented and sustained over time, the school board should provide formal support in the form of a resolution or other written mandate and should establish a continuing mechanism for two-way communication with and review of whatever formal citizen participation mechanisms are established.

2. Effective Citizen Organizations: If formal organizations such as task forces or school councils are to be a part of the plan, it is important

* See, for example, Overcoming Barriers to School Council Effectiveness, Jim Stanton and Ross Zerchykov, 1979; Narrowing the Gap Between Intent and Practice: A Report to Policymakers on Community Organization and School Decisionmaking, Kathleen Huguenin, Ross Zerchykov and Don Davies, 1979; Rising Above Decline, Betsy Wachtel and Brian Powers, 1979; and Citizen Participation in Education: An Annotated Bibliography, Don Davies and Ross Zerchykov, 1978.

to note what has been learned about the conditions that promote the effective operations of such groups. There are four such conditions that can be derived from our analysis of many studies. These are:

- An effective organization has staff help, especially the kind of staff that is responsible to the organization.
- An effective organization has access to timely and accurate information.
- An effective organization has a clear purpose, specific functions, and clear specification of both its authority and the limits on its authority.
- An effective organization has access to decisionmakers and to sources of assistance (other organizations and agencies at local, state and national levels).

3. Training for Political Skills: Principals and other school administrators in a school effectiveness project need technical knowledge and skills. Most leadership training programs recognize this and have a strong technical basis. However, it is clear that principals and other administrators also need political knowledge and skills. Little or no preparation seem to be offered in most graduate school administration programs and most in-service programs for principals would reject political content as "unseemly." The kinds of knowledge and skills that appear to be a part of the repertoire of politically effective school leaders include:

- Understanding the financial and governance structure of education -- local, state and Federal.
- Understanding state and local governance structures and state financing and decisionmaking policies.
- Understanding the school and municipal budget processes.
- Dealing with conflict and using techniques to reconcile differences in values and goals.
- Mediating among conflicting interests in a diverse constituency.
- Bargaining and compromising.
- Identifying interests, interest groups, and power centers.

A FINAL WORD

This section is addressed to school officials who are interested in fostering increased citizen participation. The message is simple. Good planning is needed and that planning should be done within two frameworks.

The first is the careful matching of participants, functions, purposes and methodologies. The second is the characteristics of schools as organizations.

The same frameworks are applicable to planners who are interested in developing new kinds of relationships between the school and other educating institutions and agencies in the community or to other approaches of expanding the learning environments of young people and adults within communities. The two-way street that should connect schools and their communities must be paved with more than good intentions and good rhetoric. Good planning is the place to begin.

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ABOUT THE INSTITUTE FOR RESPONSIVE EDUCATION

The Institute for Responsive Education (IRE) is a private, non-profit national research, policy analysis and technical assistance organization with a ten-year history of conducting studies on and disseminating information about community involvement in school decisionmaking. Although private and independent, IRE is housed at Boston University, where its President and founder, Don Davies, formerly Deputy Commissioner in the United States Office of Education, is now Professor in the School of Education.

Founded on the premises that citizen participation is an essential ingredient in school improvement and that citizens' access to information is indispensable for effective participation, IRE has, throughout its ten-year history, produced more than 27 reports, handbooks, bibliographies and other publications.

IRE has been involved in many facets of citizen participation which include school-community councils, citizen roles in educational collective bargaining, Federal and state policies affecting citizen participation, the role of citizen-initiated organizations, declining enrollment, and citizen action research for school improvement.

In the Fall of 1982, IRE merged with the National Commission on Resources for Youth (NCRY), a non-profit organization founded in 1967 by Judge Mary Conway Kohler. NCRY works to expand opportunities for young people to participate in society, based on the premise that youth are ready to make significant contributions to their communities and that they can assume responsible, decisionmaking roles; become productive partners of adults; and enhance the quality of their own lives by helping others.

IRE/NCRY houses an ongoing Clearinghouse on Youth and Citizen Participation which contains materials on more than 250 topics about school-community relations and descriptions of more than 1,500 local Youth Participation programs nationwide. IRE/NCRY also publishes a twice-yearly combined newsjournal, Citizen Action in Education (CAE) and Resources for Youth (RFY), which reaches over 50,000 subscribers.

RELATED IRE PUBLICATIONS

THE HOME-SCHOOL CONNECTION: SELECTED PARTNERSHIP PROGRAMS IN LARGE CITIES. Carter Collins, Oliver Moles and Mary Cross. 1982, 158 pp. (\$8.00).

This report, by the members of the National Institute of Education's Families As Educators team, is a study of school-initiated programs which explore forms of home-school collaboration at the upper elementary and secondary school levels which may help improve student learning. The Home-School Connection contains a discussion and synthesis of findings across 28 home-school collaboration programs in operation during the 1980-81 school year, site visit reports on seven of these programs, profiles of the 28 programs, and notes toward a comprehensive home-school program.

A TWO-WAY STREET: HOME-SCHOOL COOPERATION IN CURRICULUM DECISIONMAKING. Robert L. Sinclair, ed., with Ralph W. Tyler, Mario D. Fantini, Ward Ghory, Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, and Don Davies. 1980, 92 pp., (\$6.00).

The authors in A Two-Way Street examine many aspects of the concept of parent participation in curriculum decisionmaking. These aspects include the influence of parent involvement in academic achievement, ways parents and teachers can work together in making curriculum decisions, and the effects of the hostility and tension which often characterize family-school relations. A Two-Way Street presents ways to advance the idea of home-school cooperation and to tap more fully the energies of the student, the home, and the community to meet the challenges that education faces in the 1980's.

EDUCATION FOR ALL PEOPLE: A GRASSROOTS PRIMER. Institute for Responsive Education staff under the direction of Ronald Walker. 1979, 155 pp. (\$6.00).

This encyclopedic guide to educational issues today pinpoints national organizations, Federal programs and funding sources which assist grassroots organizations. It examines issues like school financing, legal rights, desegregation, bilingual and special education, and discusses an array of topics from affirmative action and accountability to minimum competency, vouchers and youth participation. Practical "how-to" information, a brief fund-raising guide, examples of successful grassroots groups, a listing of minority news media, and a directory of national organizations complete this catalogue.

ACTION FOR EDUCATIONAL EQUITY: A GUIDE FOR PARENTS AND MEMBERS OF COMMUNITY GROUPS. James Crowfoot, Bunyan Bryant and Mark Chesler. 1982, 184 pp. (\$9.00).

This guide presents an action plan for establishing, and working in, a citizens group on educational equity issues from bilingual education to sex equity and educational services for children with special needs. Using their experience with desegregation as a model, and by providing frequent exercises for individual and group use, the authors present an action plan for developing an initial core group, determining what programs might help citizens achieve their goals, identifying targets and strategies of change, developing means of getting information, selecting a change program and planning a strategy for change, implementing strategies, and handling conflicts and crisis.

OTHER IRE PUBLICATIONS

CITIZEN ACTION IN EDUCATION. Twice-yearly news journal of the Institute, \$5.00 per year voluntary journal contribution.

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON MANAGING DECLINE IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS. Ross Zerchykov, with Owen Heleen. 1982, 276 pp., \$14.50.

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NARROWING THE GAP BETWEEN INTENT AND PRACTICE: A REPORT TO POLICYMAKERS ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND SCHOOL DECISIONMAKING. Kathleer Huguenin, Ross Zerchykov, and Don Davies. 1979, 118 pp., \$5.00.

OPENING THE DOOR: CITIZEN ROLES IN EDUCATIONAL COLLECTIVE Bargaining. Irving Hamer, Charles Cheng, Melanie Barron, editors. 1979, 194 pp., \$4.50.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Second edition. Don Davies and Ross Zerchykov. 1978, 386 pp., \$15.00.

FEDERAL AND STATE IMPACT ON CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE SCHOOLS. Don Davies, James Upton, Miriam Clasby, Felix Baxter, Brian Powers and Ross Zerchykov. 1978, 125 pp., \$5.00.

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